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CONTENTS

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Five Thousand Per Cent.. 505
How to Make the Post-Office Self-Supporting..... 506
To Protect Watersheds..... 507
Maximum and Minimum..... 508
Cold Storage..... 509
Chicago's Graft Inquiry..... 509
Bossism or Bribery?..... 511
A Brave Sheriff..... 511
Workmen's Compensation..... 512
The English Political Situation..... 513
Russia on Trial..... 514
The New Theater: Its Aim and Success 514
In Memory of Mr. Gilder..... 515
The New National Protestant Church of Geneva..... 516
Municipal Reform in Montreal..... 517
War on the People..... 517
The Present Duty..... 518
The New York Police Problem..... 520
Lenten Thoughts: The Living Christ.. 521
The War in Philadelphia (Staff Correspondence)..... 522
By Harold J. Howland
The Land Without Strikes..... 526
By Paul Kennaday
The Ethical Teachings of Jesus—I. Sobriety..... 531
By Lyman Abbott
The Cart Dwellers..... 534
By Mary Heaton Vorse
Madame Breshkovsky in Prison..... 538
By Isabel C. Barrows
The New Books..... 543
Letters to The Outlook..... 545

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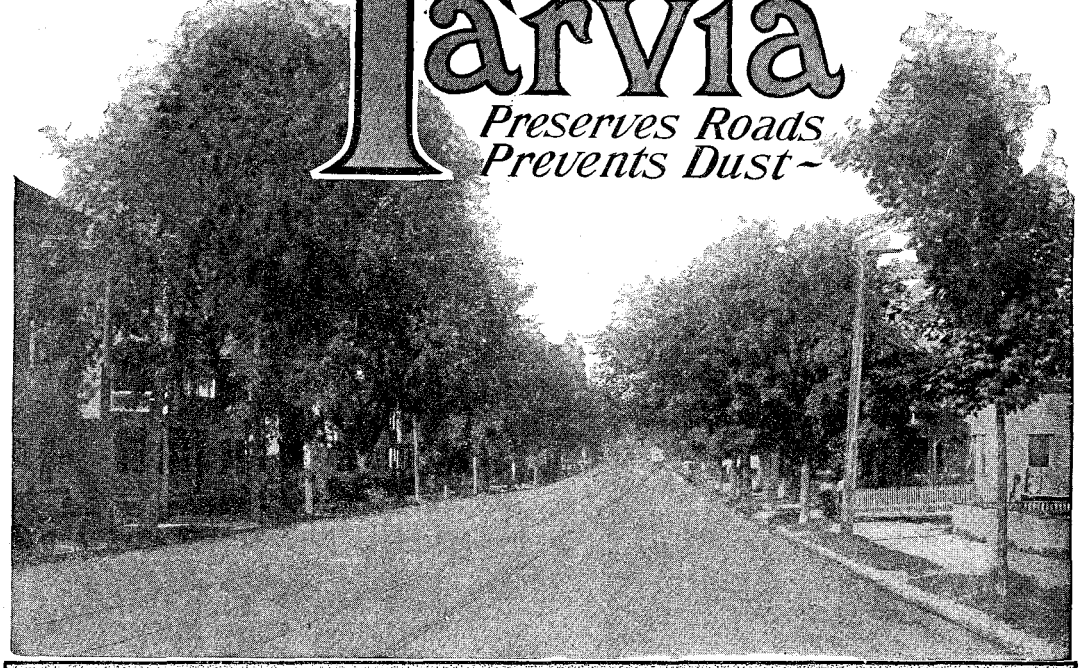

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The Outlook

MARCH 5, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

FIVE THOUSAND PER CENT

Voluntarily there appeared before the Senate Committee on Territories, on the 18th of February, two representatives of the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate that is interested in the development of the natural resources of Alaska. Mr. John N. Steele and Mr. Stephen Birch, respectively General Counsel and Managing Director of the syndicate, testified that the syndicate owned a railway and a copper mine, and what is virtually a controlling proportion of the stock of a concern that owns a fisheries company and a group of steamship lines. They resented the imputation that the syndicate was trying to "gobble up" all of the natural resources of Alaska. Inasmuch as the Territory of Alaska has an area equivalent to that covered by seven or eight of the largest States in the Middle West, this denial is very far from being an assurance that the property of the people of the United States is properly protected against the privileged interests that are busy in Alaska. Later, one of the representatives of the syndicate testified that it had an option on the Cunningham claims, which have figured so largely in the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy, but that this option covered only a half-interest! Since the validity of those claims depends upon proof that there was no combination among the claimants before the filing of the claims, this testimony is particularly significant. The manager of the syndicate, moreover, estimated the possible profit from coal that could be obtained from the land included in the Cunningham claims as twenty-five million dollars, and stated that the price which the syndicate had agreed to pay for a half-interest in the property as soon as patented was a quarter of a million dollars. This means that the total profits would amount to five thousand per cent of the investment. Are the people of the United States willing to hand over to syndicates of capitalists, practically free of charge, such enormous treasures? It is to be remembered, of course, that the development of such coal deposits in a remote region like Alaska involves the building of railways and the provision of expensive equipment, not necessarily included in the cost of the mines themselves. Nevertheless, the figures given indicate how rich a reward may come to those who secure ownership in coal lands and other resources in Alaska. This testimony before the Senate Committee should open the eyes of the people of the United States. Every American citizen is a part owner in the public domain. Does the reader of this paragraph want his property presented as a gift to corporate concerns?

THE OWNERS OF THE PROPERTY

The undeveloped coal in the public domain of Alaska belongs to the people of the United States, and its value should come into the possession of the people. Whoever does the work of mining the coal and bringing it into use should be paid fairly for the labor and the risk involved. All returns over and above this should go to the real owners. Indeed, since the people of the United States own these coal lands, they have the right to say under what conditions the coal shall be mined, or even whether it shall be mined at all. They should not dispose of those coal lands, but retain the ownership of them. They should retain with the ownership the right to lease the lands to those who wish to mine the coal, and the right to make regulations under which the mines on those lands shall be managed, including

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the right to fix the rate of wages and salaries, and the hours and conditions of labor. They should retain the right to fix the price at which the coal may be sold. With these rights well preserved, the Government of the United States can offer any individual or company the opportunity to mine that coal. It can say to such an individual or company, "These are the conditions; you can accept them or decline them; if you do not like them, we can mine the coal ourselves." Following the example of the arrangement between the city of Boston and its Gas Company, the Government of the United States might well say to such a mining company: "If you keep the price to the consumer down to such and such a figure, you may have a specified profit; if you lower the price still further, you may have a larger profit; a certain amount must be paid to the Government as a fair and adequate rental, and all profits over and above the percentage allowed must also go into the United States Treasury." In one respect, therefore, the bill that is now before the Senate, introduced by Mr. Nelson and recognized as an Administration measure, is defective. This bill fixes the royalty to be paid to the Government at the flat rate of fifteen cents per ton. What ought to be fixed is the percentage of profit; all over and above that should be divided in an equitable manner between the consumer and the United States Treasury. With this and other less important exceptions, this bill embodies in general the principles we have laid down. The representatives of the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate have put the public under obligation to them for making so clear by their testimony the need for the enactment of a law that will secure to the people the wealth that is theirs.

HOW TO MAKE THE POST-OFFICE SELF-SUPPORTING

There is a deficit, according to Postmaster-General Hitchcock, of twenty-eight million dollars in the rural delivery service. Under the present rates of postage and the regulations in the rural delivery service there will always be a deficit. If, for example, a merchant desires to send a four-pound package to patrons living on a rural route extending from that merchant's post office, he must pay sixty-four cents. But he would pay sixty-four cents if he were sending the same package to patrons living on a rural route which starts from some post-office at the other end of the country. In the interest both of equitable individual treatment and also of financial return to the Government, the matter ought to be more reasonably adjusted. There should be at least a local rate on parcels on rural routes starting from the same post-office. Hence we are glad to note that the Hon. David J. Foster, of Vermont, has introduced a bill to this end in the House of Representatives. As every carrier on a rural route is prepared to transport a hundred and twenty-five pounds of mail, yet as, in point of fact, he carries an average of not over twenty-five pounds, the carriage of local parcels would not entail any additional expense to the Government. The returns would be all net profit. Mr. Foster would establish rates of postage on parcels of third and fourth class matter of one cent for parcels weighing two ounces or less, of two cents on parcels weighing over two ounces and not over four, of three cents on parcels over four ounces and not exceeding eight, etc. No parcels would exceed eleven pounds in weight. Under such a bill, with our present number of routes, the return would be, so Mr. Foster believes, as much as twelve million dollars a year. Two interests will doubtless oppose the bill—the express companies and the country stores. The expected opposition of the express companies to this bill can easily be understood; but it should have no weight against the public interest. As for the country stores, which have heretofore opposed the extension of the rural free delivery on account of the advantage that it might give to the big mail order concerns in the city, they will find no such cause for opposition in this bill, for, by its provisions, postage on packages which they send to neighboring consumers would be much less than the postage which those same consumers would pay on packages from more distant stores. The country stores thus would be ultimately brought into really closer contact with the farming community, instead of being detached from it. It would not be surprising if the result of the present interest in our postal

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service were to show itself in enactment into law, not only of Mr. Foster's measure, but also of one providing for a more general parcels post.

TO PROTECT WATERSHEDS

The Hon. John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts, has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to establish National forests on forested watersheds. For the present fiscal year the bill appropriates $1,000,000, and for each fiscal year thereafter a sum not to exceed $2,000,000, for acquiring lands located on the head-waters of navigable streams or those which may be developed for navigable purposes. These provisions are applicable to the head-waters of rivers in any part of the country—the head-waters of the Columbia, the Missouri, and the Mississippi, as well as the head-waters of the Connecticut, the Ohio, and the Tennessee. As, however, the head-waters of our Western streams are protected by existing National forests, the money to be derived from the Weeks bill, should it become law, would doubtless be spent for the first few years in the mountain watersheds of eastern America. The watersheds most needing attention are those of the Appalachian Mountains. They have a double value. First, they contain the largest and most varied hardwood supply in America. Second, they control the flow of a vast number of brooks, streams, and rivers. For many years the great Appalachian forests have been going the way of the ax. When we contemplate wood and water supply, such a loss is grievous enough. But this is not all. The ax is wielded not by public but by private interests. Yet here are forests which should be used for public, not private, benefit. It is not surprising, then, that a measure to protect these watersheds has been urged by three Presidents and by the Department of Agriculture, that for over a decade it has been before Congress at practically every session, that it has passed the Senate three times and the House once.

MR. PINCHOT ANSWERS ONE OBJECTION

The objections to the bill are three: First, it is claimed by some, and in particular by Professor Willis L. Moore, Chief of the Weather Bureau, that the removal of forests does not necessarily intensify floods, hence the necessity for such a bill is not great. What are the facts? Floods do not occur where watersheds are forested, for every forest covers what is practically a reservoir. This reservoir is made up of the tree roots and the little hollows or basins between, of the fallen limbs, of logs, twigs, and leaves. All these catch and hold back the raindrops as they fall. Underneath a deep vegetable mold immediately forms. The ground becomes porous like a sponge, and is called humus. It has greater power to absorb moisture than has any other known vegetable or animal matter. It holds the rain for months after it has fallen. Contact with underlying rock finally causes the water to drain off slowly and continually all the year round. Some of the water finds its way into the beds of brooks and streams and rivers, into which it grooves deeply, leaving little or no deposit. Devastate the forest and you devastate the humus; its spongelike quality can be preserved only by the forest's dampness. The forest gone, the obstructions to waterflow are removed. The rain no longer falls deep into the earth; it is not retained there as in a reservoir and drained off slowly. Instead, it is quickly drained along the earth's surface, causing destructive freshets and floods and dragging its deposit into the river-beds. These soon fill up with the deposit known as silt and become shallow. The rains, no longer falling into the deep beds, easily overflow the shallow beds. The country becomes flooded. Damage to property and often unhealthful conditions follow. The experience of the ages has crystallized this common knowledge into the common belief that beyond question forests do influence stream flow. A signal proof is shown by the injurious floods which every year visit deforested China, Spain, and Syria, but do not visit forested Germany. Mr. Gifford Pinchot, late United States Forester, says: "Every one who uses his eyes knows that the condition of the surface has a powerful and immediate influence on the run-off or drainage. . . . The essential function of the forest floor affords a physical obstruction to the rapid escape of water over the surface. . . .

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There is, however, another function which in practical value far surpasses this one. The forest floor reacts upon the soil itself to increase its absorptive capacity. The humus, which, by natural action, is being constantly mixed with the upper layers of mineral soils, adds to their receptive and retentive powers, while the deep, penetrating roots open passages through which water regularly passes to underground drainage. The greatest influence, then, which the forest exerts on fallen moisture is that of changing surface to underground drainage and of replenishing the great underground reservoir from which springs and streams are fed. . . . It is flying in the face of what every outdoor man knows to deny it. If," adds Mr. Pinchot, "Professor Moore's figures seem to prove the opposite, then I should be much more inclined to believe that there was something wrong with the figures than with the common knowledge of the human race. And then there are all the figures which contradict him to be considered also, figures at least as reliable as those he submits."

NATIONAL FORESTS A NATIONAL AFFAIR

Mr. Pinchot is right. "The common knowledge of the human race" needs no figures to indicate the folly of a policy which wastes not only timbers and water, but also soil, through erosion, clogging the course of streams and rivers, and filling the mouths of harbors. All this happens because we are cutting our forests, in general, at least three times as fast as they are being produced, and hence are destroying the sponge-like soil which has acted as a reservoir as long as the forest protected it. So much for the first reason why the Appalachian Bill has been opposed. The second is because of the claim that the acquisition of forest reserves by the National Government from State property is unconstitutional. But the National Government has the Constitutional power to acquire forest reserves in a State for the purposes of navigation, and hence Mr. Weeks's bill is entitled "A Bill . . . for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams." The third objection is that the separate States in which forest reserves are proposed should pay for them out of their respective State treasuries. But, with the exception of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and a few others, the separate States cannot afford this. Moreover, the preservation of the Appalachian forests, for example, is not of merely State benefit, and should not be made a matter of State cost. The objections fall to the ground. The bill ought to pass. Its passage is indissolubly bound up with the prosecution of the principle and policy of the conservation of our forest resources.

MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM

During the past fortnight, under the authority granted by the Payne Tariff Law, President Taft has issued proclamations stating that, in addition to the others already named, the Governments of the following countries do not unduly discriminate against goods imported from the United States, and are therefore entitled to the minimum rates of our new tariff: Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Portugal, Persia, India, Japan, Aden, Malta, Egypt, Abyssinia, Morocco, Liberia, the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia, Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, British Guiana, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil. The treatment to be accorded to the remaining countries is still undetermined; the more important ones, concerning which a decision is yet to be reached, are Canada, France, Austria-Hungary, and China. If it is found that any countries unduly discriminate against American goods, the maximum tariff will go into operation against them on April 1. Of the decisions made by the Tariff Board concerning the tariff systems of the above-mentioned countries, the most interesting and important was that with respect to Germany. As a result of the long series of conferences between the German and American Governments, the former conceded to us unlimited enjoyment of its minimum or lower tariff in return for our minimum. A bill approving this arrangement was submitted to the Reichstag, the lower house of the German Parliament, and was adopted without debate. The result is that the United States has finally secured a free-

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dom of entry into the German market which it might never have secured under a single schedule tariff. The trade between Germany and America much exceeds four hundred million dollars; not only is it an immensely valuable trade in itself, as indicated by these figures, but it is particularly valuable because of the difficulty which, in the event of a tariff war, either country would experience in the endeavor to obtain certain commodities elsewhere.

COLD STORAGE

Through a combination of their interests, the packers may have considerable to answer for in the manipulation of supplies and prices, as the beef investigation at Chicago may show. But last week a Grand Jury in Jersey City, New Jersey, decided to bring indictments against the directors of a packing company on a charge of conspiracy to raise prices by keeping foodstuffs in cold storage. What is cold storage? The term does not mean the ordinary plants for the refrigeration and preservation for a short time of perishable products like meats, poultry, eggs, dairy products, fruits, and vegetables, but far vaster plants where for very extended periods the temperature is kept at a far more abnormal degree—as low as twenty degrees below zero—and where meats and fruit become for the time being frozen like wood. The system of cold storage has been, first of all, of enormous use in affording the enjoyment of food necessities and luxuries out of season, where, under the old system, such enjoyment was not possible. For instance, even the ordinary housekeeper may in the month of February have her strawberries occasionally. Second, the system has increased production; the farmer has augmented his production of perishables, knowing that the cold storage companies would purchase the surplus. Third, by its distribution the system has also tended to prevent waste and loss. Finally, it has helped to equalize prices by limiting their fluctuation. As a total result the cold storage system may, we think, be regarded as in a very real sense a public utility. The present appallingly high cost of living, however, has suggested to the suspicious that cold storage may also be a device to be used by unscrupulous persons whenever they think desirable to control the supply, and, by keeping meat and eggs and fruit out of market, to fix prices and obtain undue profit. This opportunity for extortion becomes doubly possible when one realizes its extension through the combination of cold storage and transportation in the form of a refrigerator car service. The retailers must also bear their share of the blame. By cold storage, game, fish, and eggs left over from one open season to another may be passed off as recent products. This deceit is most widely practiced in the case of eggs, which may be bought by retailers from cold storage warehouses at not over thirty cents a dozen and then sold to the public as new-laid eggs from the country at sixty cents. Why should the now indispensable system of preservation help unscrupulous retailers to exploit the public? Properly regulated, such a system should serve the public well. No matter how great the gain has been to the public, there is now a suspicion that the gain to private interests, both wholesale and retail, may have been proportionately greater. If so, then the cold storage system, already classed as a public utility, must be supervised by the Government for the general good. The best warehousemen themselves see the advantage of being so regulated by the Department of Agriculture that the ultimate consumer would be notified by a Government stamp whenever and how long commodities offered to him have been subjected to the cold storage process. Fortunately, in its power to regulate inter-State commerce, Congress possesses authority to deal with the matter for the whole country.

CHICAGO'S GRAFT INQUIRY

Chicago is turning the light on municipal dishonesty and inefficiency in a manner to excite the interest of all students of the city government problem. The Merriam Commission, headed by a college professor who is also an Alderman, is conducting the investigation. Professor Merriam, of the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago, was elected last spring to represent his ward in the Chicago City Council. One of his first moves after election was to offer a

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resolution for the appointment by the Mayor of a commission on municipal expenditures, to be composed of Aldermen and citizens. The practical politicians did not take the matter seriously. They looked upon it as an academic proposition advanced by a college professor. The resolution was passed without serious opposition. Alderman Merriam was named as Chairman of the Commission, and Mr. Walter Fisher, former Secretary of the Municipal Voters' League, one of the members of the Commission by appointment of the Mayor, was made counsel, and was authorized to conduct the examination of witnesses at public hearings. The Commission is without legal power to summon witnesses, to administer oaths, or to compel the giving of testimony. However, city officials and employees were directed by the resolution creating the body to supply it with such city documents and information as it might need. Money was appropriated for the hiring of a staff of investigators. Probably at the outset even Alderman Merriam did not expect the inquiry to assume the importance that it has now attained. He planned it as a scientific investigation. He has insisted upon following scientific methods. While the newspapers at times have dealt with the subject-matter of the inquiry in a sensational manner, Alderman Merriam has refrained from what are characterized as brass band methods. The disclosures have been exceedingly hurtful to the present city administration, but it cannot be charged that the Commission has gone out of its way to accomplish any political purpose. On the other hand, the directing members of it have refused to be swerved from following the probe wherever it might lead.

DISCLOSURES OF WRONG-DOING

Fortunately for the Merriam Commission, shortly after its creation other agencies began to investigate certain phases of municipal activity. The State's Attorney, Mr. Wayman, secured the indictment and conviction of a captain of police on the charge of accepting bribes from keepers of disorderly resorts. The "Inter Ocean," formerly a staid partisan newspaper of the reactionary type, violently opposed to "muck-raking," began the publication of a series of articles attacking the administration of Mayor Busse. It was believed by many that political motives inspired these attacks. Nevertheless, the "Inter Ocean's" work was ably done, and brought to light many facts that the Merriam Commission might not have been able to uncover. This was the situation when the Merriam Commission began to hold public hearings. The investigators of the Commission had been doing their work thoroughly. One of them, Mr. Herbert E. Fleming, a former newspaper man, looked into the subject of the purchases of coal by the city. He had expert analyses made of samples of coal delivered to the city under contract. The samples did not meet the specifications. By means of the shipping bills the cars in which the coal came were traced to their origin. It was found that coal delivered as Youghiogheny nut, to be obtained only from Pennsylvania, and for which the city paid $3.50 a ton, actually came from a soft-coal mine in Indiana and was worth in the Chicago market only $1.15 a ton. As a result of these disclosures two coal men held responsible for the fraudulent deliveries were indicted by the Grand Jury. One of them is a Democratic ward committeeman. The city administration is Republican. Lumber and other supplies purchased by the city were taken up in much the same way. As the result of inquiry into the charge that $45,000 was paid as an extra for the removal of shale rock where no shale rock existed, about a dozen persons were indicted, one of the number being the Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, who immediately resigned his position following the submission to the City Council by the Commission of its report on that subject. The contractor involved was also indicted. The Merriam Commission is proceeding with its investigations carefully and thoroughly in spite of efforts to embarrass it by "honest taxpayers" who are striving to enjoin its expenditure of public funds for investigating purposes, and by others. It is significant that it is the administrative departments of government that are under fire in Chicago, and not the legislative department or City Council. On the contrary, it is the Council that is back of the inquiry. As the result of its fifteen

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years' fight for better Aldermen, Chicago to-day probably has the best Council of any large city in the country. And it is the Council in Chicago, rather than the executive branch of the government, to which the people look for the betterment of municipal conditions.

BOSSISM OR BRIBERY?

That is a singular defense which Mr. Allds is making before the New York Senate in reply to the charge that he accepted a cash bribe for preventing legislation opposed by the bridge-building companies. He declares that the bill which was held back was not, as Senator Conger asserts, a piece of "strike" legislation introduced in order that money might be extorted from those interested in its suppression. Mr. Allds asserts that the bridge companies had long been engaged in plundering the towns of the State in collusion with local officials through the erection of unnecessary and costly bridges at the expense of the taxpayer; that State supervision and restriction were greatly needed to prevent corruption and extravagance; that he personally was heartily in favor of restrictive legislation and opposed efforts to favor the bridge companies consistently and earnestly for years—with one single exception. This exception happens to be the very matter in which Mr. Allds is alleged to have taken the bribe. When asked to explain this singular about-face in his action, Mr. Allds, through his counsel, calmly tells the people that he did so because Thomas C. Platt told him to! Letters were adduced which at least show that Mr. Platt did urge Mr. Allds to do what the bridge companies wanted, the inference being perfectly plain that these companies were friends of the party and ought to be helped wherever possible. Nowhere in the letters from Mr. Platt to Mr. Allds is there even a suggestion of a belief that the legislation proposed or opposed should be shaped so as to be for the best good of the people of the State of New York. No writer of political satire could possibly ask a better illustration than this of the character of boss rule in State politics and of the danger of letting corporations contribute to party political funds.

A BRAVE SHERIFF

The city of Cairo, Illinois, which is situated at the southernmost point of the State, in a wedge between Kentucky and Missouri, has been further injuring an already badly damaged reputation. Last November it was the scene of a lynching that has an evil eminence among the deeds of mob violence which have shamed this country. Because the sheriff at that time did not succeed in keeping his prisoner out of the hands of the rioters, he was dismissed from office. Week before last his successor, Sheriff Nellis, had to face another mob. He had under his care two young negroes charged with snatching a pocketbook from the hand of a white woman. Learning that a crowd of men from the saloons in the lower part of the town was gathering together to make an attack upon the jail and to secure these two negro prisoners, and realizing that he could not, probably, repel the attack single-handed, he notified the Governor of his desire for aid, and secured a number of men as deputies. In the short time allowed him he had, it is understood, no opportunity to secure enough white men and so was unfortunately forced to secure the services of negroes. This fact accentuated the race feeling already aroused. While the mob was attempting to batter down the doors of the jail, the deputies, under order of the sheriff, fired a volley from their rifles. The mob retired. One of its number, however, a leader in the attack, son of a former Mayor of the city, was left wounded on the ground. There he lay dying for hours. For several days a race war was feared. In fact, Cairo has been a lawless city for months, and in these last two weeks it has only become more openly, arrogantly lawless; and there are people in Cairo who, so far from feeling the shame that has come upon them, have, public reports indicate, been engaged in criticising, abusing, and threatening the brave sheriff. They have criticised him because he used negro deputies, as if it were not the business of the sheriff to exercise all his power in defense of those in his charge. They have criticised him because he allowed no one to go to the aid of the dying ringleader. What would these people have the sheriff do? Would they suggest that he parley with

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the mob? If this had been a battle under the rules of war, he could have recognized a flag of truce, or the Red Cross of the surgeon; but a mob knows no rules of war. The man who joins a mob is not accepting the fortunes of a soldier, he is accepting the fortunes of a wild beast. He must abide by the consequences. Cairo's experience is that of Philadelphia. Corruption in government, which has brought within the city an ignorant and corruptible population, both white and black, and which has permitted vice to flourish at a price, has had its inevitable outcome in anarchy. The one man who by his physical and moral courage has brought any credit to Cairo is the man who during these past days has had to go back and forth surrounded by a guard to protect him from Cairo's citizens—Sheriff Nellis.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Who should bear the burden of industrial accidents? When a workman is injured in the course of his duties, should the loss of his time and the cost of his care be borne by himself, or should it be borne by his employer? In the old days when industry was simple the answer was easier to find. If the workman was negligent or took the risk of working with a careless fellow-workman, it was easy to say that he should bear the consequences of his own thoughtlessness. To-day, however, no such easy answer is possible. The workman cannot choose his tools; he is a part of a great organization, and finds himself set before huge machines which he did not select and from the danger of which he has very little power to protect himself. Moreover, his fellow-workman from whose negligence or misfortune he may suffer is as likely to be many yards, or in some cases many miles, away from him as at his side. On the other hand, the employer is no longer, as a rule, an individual who can oversee all departments of his business, but is a corporation whose owners, as stockholders, may have no more acquaintance with the actual conduct of the business than any one else. Under such conditions, brought about by great changes in the form of capital and the methods of production, it is almost if not quite impossible, in most instances, to fix personal responsibility for accidents either upon the employer or the employed. Yet we are living under laws enacted and judicially interpreted to fit the earlier stages of modern industrial development. The consequence is that the workman, whose only source of income is his physical capacity, must bear either the whole burden of any disaster that falls upon him in the course of his work, or else the equally unjust burden of carrying through the slow processes of the courts his claim for compensation. This is one aspect of the situation which has brought about the organization of the American Association for Labor Legislation, of which Professor Henry W. Farnam, of Yale University, is the President. This also has been the subject of careful study by men trained in the law. In particular, it forms the subject of the report presented by a special committee to the thirty-third Annual Meeting of the New York State Bar Association, which was held in Rochester, New York, recently. This committee recommends the adoption of the principle that the cost of such industrial accidents should fall, not upon the workmen as such, nor upon the employer, but upon the industry. This is done, not by enabling injured workmen to recover from the employer whatever damages the jury may allow them, but by fixing definitely by law the compensation to which a workman is entitled for each kind of injury he may receive, and making that compensation a regular charge upon the business as a part of the cost of production. The committee believes that such a statute should not deprive the employee of the option of proceeding against the employer in the courts, but that it should provide that the employer could by contract at once relieve himself of the necessity of defending a suit at law and assume an obligation to his employee to pay without litigation the statutory compensation. The question naturally arises whether this method of distributing the cost of industrial accidents among those who, as consumers, receive the benefits of modern production is better than a system of workingmen's insurance by which a part of the cost of production is the increased wages necessary for providing a working-

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man's insurance fund. There is much to be said for both methods. The chief thing, however, to be noted is that everywhere it is becoming recognized that for the present unjust way of allowing the burden of industrial accident to fall on those least able to bear it there should be substituted a method of letting that burden fall upon those who use the products of industry.

THE ENGLISH POLITICAL SITUATION

The British Parliament reassembled on Monday of last week with picturesque and time-honored ceremonies. As a spectacle it is reported to have been more brilliant than usual, and the crowds between Buckingham Palace and Whitehall were larger and more demonstrative, while the *tableaux vivants* in the House of Lords, of which the King was the central figure, were more impressive and brilliant. The speech was read in a strong, clear voice, and followed with almost breathless interest. It was brief, and indicated only two general lines of legislation. After announcing the establishment of the Union of South Africa as fixed for the end of May, the journey of the Prince of Wales to that section of the world, the extension of the functions of the legislative councils in India, and the increase of the number of their members, the speech declared that the revenue required to meet expenditures authorized by the last Parliament has not been provided by the imposition of taxation, and that "arrangements must be made at the earliest possible moment to deal with the financial situation thus created." Addressing both houses, the King said:

> Recent experience has disclosed serious difficulties due to recurring differences of strong opinion between the two branches of the Legislature. Proposals will be laid before you with all convenient speed to define the relations between the houses of Parliament so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over finance and its predominance in legislation. These measures, in the opinion of my advisers, should provide that this house should be so constituted and empowered as to exercise impartially in regard to proposed legislation the functions of initiation, of revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay.

What the British Premier, Mr. Asquith, proposes to do, therefore, is to present the Budget first, and deal with the question of reformation of the House of Lords later. So far as the Budget is concerned, its speedy passage seems assured, since Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, has said that, if the new House of Commons adopted the Finance Bill, the Lords were ready to expedite its passage, although their opinion regarding it was unchanged; and Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, has said that, although the reception of the Budget has been cold and chilly and numerically inadequate, it will doubtless become a law, and that he believes the majority of the constituencies of Great Britain are prepared to support it. In regard to the reform of the House of Lords, Lord Rosebery has declared that the House of Lords must take the matter into its own hands and reform itself; and Lord Lansdowne has said that the peers themselves are prepared to co-operate in finding a remedy if the Ministry is able to show that the manner in which the upper chamber is now constituted is not adequate to the efficient discharge of its business. These may be accepted as the facts in the situation. They rise like isolated peaks out of a weltering ocean of newspaper conjecture and criticism. The Prime Minister finds himself surrounded by gentlemen who offer him, in the most vociferous tones, absolutely contradictory advice. The Radicals urge him to abolish the House of Lords, and tell him that that is his principal business. The Nationalists notify him that they are allied to no British party; that they supported the Government at the last election because of the Prime Minister's pledge to grant Home Rule, and to abolish the veto of the House of Lords, which they accept as tantamount to the adoption of Home Rule; and Mr. Redmond has notified the Prime Minister that, if the Nationalists receive assurances that he will carry the Veto Bill into law this year, they will vote for the Budget, otherwise "we are not willing to pay that price for nothing." The Labor party urges the abolition of the upper chamber. Other advisers are of opinion that Mr. Asquith ought to resign, and this would undoubtedly be the advice of the Conservatives if they were willing to

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assume the responsibilities of government in the present state of affairs. From that great burden, however, they shrink; and they are in the curious and anomalous position of trying to discredit the Government at the moment when they are unwilling to take its load on their own shoulders. The Premier is a clear-headed, thoroughly trained lawyer, and the course he has marked out seems to those who stand outside the general whirl sensible and practicable. The English are a reasonable people, although, like us, sometimes given to explosions of unrestrained individuality. The Asquith Ministry was promptly confronted with a division on an amendment to the address to the Crown made by Mr. Austin Chamberlain in favor of tariff reform. While the vote was being counted there was great tension of feeling, and, when the result was announced, tremendous cheering from the Conservative members, who accepted it as indicating a great reduction of the majority against them. The amendment was rejected by a vote of 285 to 254, a majority of 31. The Nationalists of both wings abstained from voting, while the Laborites cast their votes with the Government.

RUSSIA ON TRIAL

The personal letters written from her Russian prison by Catherine Breshkovsky and printed elsewhere in this number of The Outlook indicate in a touching way the serenity of character of this gentle and noble-minded woman, against whom the Russian Government is marshaling all its arbitrary power as if she were a frenzied Anarchist. The story told by Mrs. Barrows in connection with these letters, of her efforts to extend human sympathy and womanly friendliness to this prisoner and the obstacles which those efforts met, points out equally clearly the straits to which such a reactionary government is forced in its efforts to restrain free speech. So far as we have read or heard, there is no charge that Madame Breshkovsky has ever herself been guilty of a revolutionary act, or has incited others, except as that may be inferred from her open advocacy of freedom of person and action and the proper representation of the Russian people in their own affairs. The same may be said of Nicolas Tschaykovsky, whose trial will precede that of Madame Breshkovsky. It is significant of the present Russian idea of a fair trial that the cable despatches seem to regard it as a great concession that the court will hear witnesses of the accused who offer proof that Mr. Tschaykovsky was neither the organizer nor a member of the Peasants' League. This charge and the admitted fact that he has advocated in other countries the establishing of a representative government in Russia appear to be the chief offenses for which he is to be tried. The same despatches, however, state that the court refuses to allow the defense to impeach the credibility of the chief Government witness, described in these despatches as a condemned revolutionist who volunteers testimony at all important political trials in order to postpone the carrying out of his own sentence. It is hoped that the trial will be open, and that one of the most eloquent of Russian lawyers will plead for Mr. Tschaykovsky. These concessions—for many prisoners accused of being revolutionists have been tried and condemned in secret sessions of the court and without adequate representation by counsel—are doubtless due (if indeed they are granted, which is not certain as we write) to the interest expressed in England and America as well as by intelligent Moderates in Russia. Many petitions from foreign men and women of distinction and influence have asked that Mr. Tschaykovsky and Madame Breshkovsky should be tried in accordance with the common principles of all civilized countries. The press and people of America, England, and France will follow these trials with keen interest and with sympathy for the now aged man and woman who have so long been confined on indefinite accusations, and who are known to the people of these countries to be unselfish and to be moved only by high ideals of the truth and the right. As we have said before, it is really Russia that is on trial.

THE NEW THEATER: ITS AIM AND SUCCESS

At a recent luncheon at the City Club of New York some very interesting statements were made with regard to the New Theater.

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There has been, of course, a good deal of criticism of the plays and the management of the theater, as well as much cordial commendation. Mr. Ames called attention to the fact that the New Theater was still a long way from the perfection of the Comédie Française, but that it must be remembered that the New Theater is only fourteen weeks old, while the Comédie Française has been in existence one hundred and fifty years. He also made the very interesting statement that the New Theater is now playing to more people per week than any other theater in New York, and that its receipts are one and a half times greater than those of any other local theater. The New Theater was not founded for commercial purposes and is not being run in a commercial spirit; but, like every other enterprise, it needs strong financial support, and its financial success is not only gratifying from this point of view, but especially gratifying as evidence that the public is showing deep interest in the high-class performances at the theater. Mr. John Corbin, who has been so deeply interested in the organization and management of the theater, commenting on the criticism that some of the leading parts in some of the plays were not brilliantly rendered, said that the emphasis at the New Theater was not on parts but on plays, and the endeavor was, not to secure two or three star performers, but a high level of excellence in the presentation of a play as a whole. In other words, at the New Theater the play is treated from the standpoint of literary and dramatic art, and not from the standpoint of the exploitation of a particular actor. The degree in which the company of actors at the New Theater shares the aims and spirit of the institution was illustrated by Mr. Ames, who told his hearers that not long ago Miss Busley, who is a successful star, asked to be permitted to play a part which had only two lines in it, so eager was she that the apparently insignificant parts of the play should be rendered as well as the leading parts. The presentation of "The School for Scandal" is an excellent example of the thoroughness and artistic feeling for the play as a whole which the New Theater is putting into its work. Lady Teazle has been more brilliantly played than by Miss Russell, but she puts into the part her keen intelligence and her excellent stage training; while the play, as a whole and in all its details, is presented with admirable spirit and general excellence of acting. This is a far better result from the standpoint of art than the concentration of the genius of a play upon a single rôle while the other parts remain more or less in judicious obscurity. Those who have seen "The School for Scandal" cannot but feel the difference between its brilliancy, its lightning-like play of wit, the superb talent which pervades it, and the monotonous level of commonplaceness which afflicts most of the plays in most of the theaters. It is reported that a conversation between two young people coming out of the New Theater ran like this: "Who wrote that play?" "I am blessed if I know, but whoever did was on to his job, every line." Some very good plays are now being written in this country, but the average popular play, even if it is not indecent or unwholesome, is too often written by a man who has only an elementary notion of his job.

IN MEMORY OF MR. GILDER

The meeting held in Mendelssohn Hall in New York City on February 20 in memory of Richard Watson Gilder was a very impressive tribute to a man who was not only a distinguished poet and editor, but an eminent citizen. The invitations for the meeting were sent out by a large group of societies representing almost every department of what may be called the higher American life—literature, art, music, public service, civil service reform, and tenement house reform; a list which brought into view the breadth of Mr. Gilder's interests and activities. Governor Hughes, who presided, said that in democracy we should reserve our highest honors for those who illustrate the worth and dignity of citizenship, and pointed out the various ways in which Mr. Gilder had conformed to this standard. "He was the pure gold of civic righteousness. He was sensible, he was a man of vision and a poet, but he was not a man of visionary aims."

We must walk [he said] in the footsteps of Richard Watson Gilder. The contribution

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which one makes as a citizen is by no means to be considered with particular regard to the holding of public office, nor, indeed, with respect to the discussion of public questions. The contribution which one makes as a citizen is in that influence which radiates from his life in every department. It is determined in its extent by the wholesomeness, the purity of his life, the soundness of his judgment, his effect upon his neighbors and the wider community that he may reach with regard to their point of view, their aspirations, their sanity, and their poise. So that the richer and fuller a man's life is, the more that he can bring to it of literary skill, of culture and acquaintance with the best that has been said or written, the more powerful should be his influence as a citizen and the more powerful his contribution to the forces that make for the good management of democratic institutions.

Mr. Jacob A. Riis was singularly happy in presenting what may be called the human fellowship side of Mr. Gilder's career, his deep sympathy with the people in the tenement-houses, his long, arduous, and fruitful work for them, the love in which they held him. "The Italian, Greek, Hungarian, and the refugee," he said, "were all alike Americans to him. The people loved him and the mothers mourned him." Mr. Riis gave many instances of Mr. Gilder's patient, personal work and of his personal relations with the people of the East Side. Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, spoke at some length on Mr. Gilder's relations to art and letters, commenting especially on the fact that his work gained maturity and beauty as he grew older in years, and that he gave the best wine at the end of the feast. Dr. Butler very briefly but effectively summed up his career, declaring that Mr. Gilder was a true American citizen and a fine example of public service in private station. Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, who has succeeded Mr. Gilder as the editor of the "Century Magazine," read two of his poems, and Mr. J. Forbes-Robertson further interpreted Mr. Gilder's work by a beautiful rendering of "Music in Darkness" and a shorter poem. The audience was one of the most representative and distinguished that could be gathered in the city. It is proposed to make a permanent Memorial of Mr. Gilder by establishing a fund of one hundred thousand dollars to be known as the Richard Watson Gilder Fund for the Promotion of Good Citizenship, to be administered by Columbia University, the income to be used for the support of fellowships for the pursuit of the political and social sciences and for practical civic work here and abroad, the holders agreeing to devote themselves to the investigation and study of actual conditions, and to be known as "Gilder Fellows." A large and influential committee has undertaken the raising of this fund, and there is small doubt of their early success in securing an endowment so happily in accord with Mr. Gilder's spirit and interests. Contributions of any amount may be sent to Mr. A. S. Frissell, 530 Fifth Avenue, New York.

THE NEW NATIONAL PROTESTANT CHURCH OF GENEVA

The canton of Geneva is one of the twenty-two small states which compose the Swiss Confederation. It counts about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Protestants are a two-thirds majority among the native population, but no longer of the total population. In 1907 the National Protestant Church of Geneva was disestablished by an amendment to the Constitution, intended to take effect on January 1, 1909. During 1908 the Genevan Protestants, of all shades and groups, organized a new Church. Though disestablished, it retained the title of National, and rightly so. For never was the national character of a Church affirmed with more force than is the new Protestant Church of Geneva, separated officially from the State, but quite as national at present as at any other moment of Genevan history. But, what is more, it was devised broad enough to permit *all Protestants* to find place in it. Any man who styles himself a Protestant *is* a member and elector. As to doctrine, the new Church simply and impressively confines itself to the acknowledgment of "Jesus Christ, the Saviour of Men." It adds, however, that, as an integral part of the Universal Church, it may be regarded as perpetuating the old Church of Geneva and that it is in fellowship with the Reformed Protestant churches. The remodeled Church has preserved the organization which characterized the foregoing period in its main features, of course with the exception of the financial support from the State

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treasury. The organs of the Church are: an elective Consistory of nine pastors and thirty-one laymen; the Company of Pastors, formed of the pastors in charge; and the Parish Councils, elected by the twenty-four parishes. Every graduate in divinity of good repute may obtain his admission as an "auxiliary pastor," which, without allowing him any stipend, confers on him the right of acting as a pastor. When a post becomes vacant, the new pastor is chosen by the electors of the parish among the graduates in divinity recognized as eligible. This is the Congregational principle; but it does not hold everywhere. For instance, the expenses of the Church are supported by a central fund, to which all are invited to contribute. But if any one should neglect his duty, he would not be for this reason erased from the list of the Church members. All the ecclesiastical buildings, including the historical cathedral of Saint Peter's, where Calvin's voice seems still to resound, are soon to become the property of the Consistory. Never was the passage from one ecclesiastical régime to another accomplished with fewer shocks than in the case of the merging of the old Protestant cults of "Protestant Rome" into a new and liberal communion.

MUNICIPAL REFORM IN MONTREAL

The recent municipal elections in Montreal formed a satisfactory conclusion to a most deplorable story of civic corruption. The revelation of the extent to which wrong-doing had prevailed arose out of a proposal by a committee of the City Council to award a million dollars' worth of paving contracts to a firm which had not put in the lowest tender. Public suspicion having been thereby aroused, a Citizens' Committee was formed to inquire into the case. As an outcome of this action a Royal Commission was appointed to make a formal investigation, and the Citizens' Committee engaged counsel to assist the Commission. The evidence thus brought out showed not only that paving contractors were being called upon to pay sixty cents per yard into a corruption fund, but that positions on the police force and fire brigade were being trafficked in as well by men in control of the City Council. In the face of all this the committee in charge of the city works persisted in going on with the awarding of the paving contract until restrained from taking further action by injunction. Several of the members had the audacity even to go before the electors for re-election in the late municipal elections, but of the twenty-three implicated in the exposures only one was returned. The defeat of the corruptionists and the election of better men affords one more proof of the extent to which the civic conscience is gaining strength all over America.

WAR ON THE PEOPLE

Not employer or employee, but the patient, long-enduring public—foolishly patient and weakly enduring public—is the real sufferer in such riots as those which last week disgraced the city named in honor of brotherly love. Street cars burned, innocent bystanders shot, men and women clubbed, fusillades of missiles from windows with answering volleys of pistol-shots—all these things are the physical outcropping of industrial mediævalism. The street car corporations have rights, the striking employees have rights—under the present system of not-dealing with labor disputes both parties have too many rights. But above these legal rights of stopping work and of refusing to treat with unions stands the higher right of the people of Philadelphia to peace, safety, and order. We do not care for the present purpose whether this labor war was provoked or unprovoked, whether the companies or the men are most to blame; ultimately the fault lies with the community at large, because it has provided no reasonable way of dealing with such a situation, despite the fact that it is perfectly obvious that under the existing law conditions of lawlessness and violence may arise at any moment.

It is true that Philadelphia is no worse in this matter than many other cities, although political vote-buying and partisan bargaining with unions and corporations have there induced a peculiarly corrupt condition. On the other hand, all cities which have failed to note that some countries have taken steps to make such strikes difficult or impossible are to blame

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for their civic backwardness. In another place in this number of The Outlook an interesting account is given by Mr. Paul Kennaday of New Zealand's radical law for compulsory arbitration, which, if it has not literally abolished strikes, has at least in large measure stopped senseless labor warfare. Repeatedly The Outlook has described Canada's Board of Conciliation, under which it is a punishable offense against the law to declare either a strike or lockout without prior investigation by the Board. A few weeks ago Mr. Walter G. Merritt in The Outlook pointed out that strikes on public utilities in their effect on the public were disastrous and dangerous, and suggested that the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the Public Service Commissions of the States receive power to do as part of an ordered system what was done as an informal expedient and to avert public disaster by Mr. Roosevelt's Anthracite Commission. How or by whom the work is to be done is an open question. The trouble is that we—that is, municipalities, legislatures, and Congress—sit supinely by and do nothing.

Every reasoning man knows what will follow in any large American city if suddenly street car motormen and conductors go on strike and the companies send out part of their cars manned by strike-breakers or even by old employees who refuse to join their fellows. Crowds gather, a rabble collects, made up of men and boys, some strikers—more, probably, of the rowdy and reckless hoodlums found in the worst districts. From hooting and rough horse-play the advance to stone-throwing and brutal beating is quick. Then come police clubbing and shooting, and quickly the city is in a state of semi-anarchy, and savagery is seen to be as surely the result of mob excitement as it was in the days of the French Terror. It is a public duty to put down rioting; but it would be wise to forestall it by making the exciting cause impossible. The law should forbid strikes of public utility employees in a body and without notice, because such strikes are an incentive to crime and an outrage against public safety and comfort. But if it does this, it must, as a matter of plain justice, provide a fair and reasonable way in which the claims of the employees acting together may be heard and the right or wrong determined. Conciliation and compromise must supersede brickbats and pistol-shots—and this not only for the benefit of workingmen and business men, but in order that such civic chaos as that in Philadelphia may become impossible under the sway of industrial democracy.

THE PRESENT DUTY

This week President Taft begins the second year of his Administration. One-fourth of the term for which he was elected has passed. During these twelve months his optimism has been severely tested. Entering his office supported with an extraordinary degree of popular confidence, he has had to do his work under the depressing influence of diminishing enthusiasm. Though trained, as lawyer and judge, to keep his mind on the task before him without hesitating because of popular opinion, and though still further inured to hostile popular views by his experience in carrying out the Philippine policy in spite of the earlier ignorant opposition of Filipinos and the continued selfish opposition of American special interests, he has not been oblivious of the growing volume of criticism during these latter weeks. Speaking impromptu, with that engaging frankness that wins for him the good will even of those who most emphatically oppose him, he is reported to have said in a speech at Newark, New Jersey, last week, in reference to the words used by ex-Governor Murphy in introducing him: "It is true I told him I wanted to make good a year ago. I am not so certain now of having done it. He said something about the newspapers. When the newspapers are prone to criticise, and sometimes unite in hammering your Administration, treating it sometimes with contemptuous disdain and sometimes with patronizing friendship, it is hard to overcome the feeling that perhaps you ought to begin all over again."

What the President refers to is really more deep-seated than merely newspaper criticism; it is a feeling widespread among the people. Unquestionably public opinion over a large part of the country is growing more and more critical and impatient. And the object of the criticism, the cause

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of the impatience, is the Administration. Here lies a danger.

In its absorption in the occupation of judging the efficiency of the Administration, the country is forgetting the duties that are laid upon Congress. Certain great laws are needed, and needed now. Public ownership in public wealth must be retained; public control over organized wealth must be increased. The only body that can make such public ownership and public control secure is Congress. There are men in Congress who would be glad to see the policy of Government ownership and Government control impeded. They hold that the natural resources of the country should be exploited by and for private interests, and that the business of the country, as now organized, should be free from what they call interference. These men represent only a minority of the American people, but they have on their side the advantage that always lies with those who would do nothing, the obstacles that have been placed in Governmental machinery against hasty legislation and therefore against all legislation, and the natural inertia of human nature. Is the country going to allow Senators and Representatives to escape from doing their duty? If the country wants its will carried out, it must not devote its attention exclusively to the deeds and omissions of the Executive; it must take time and thought and energy to demand of Congress that the needed laws be passed.

These laws now before Congress constitute a legislative programme such as has been presented at few sessions. First in immediate importance are the Conservation bills. They are first because they are designed to prevent loss that would otherwise be irreparable. They must be debated and perfected and enacted. They will not be, however, unless public opinion in their favor is emphatically and repeatedly expressed. The bill to regulate further the railways of the country, enlarging the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission so that the highways of the Nation shall be open on fairer terms to all the people, is scarcely second in importance. It necessarily contains many technical provisions, and therefore affords opportunities for obstructionists. If the people of the country are not to be defeated in their determination to see that the policy of railway regulation is furthered, they must make their insistence known to Congress. The bill to establish postal savings banks is a bill to conserve the wealth of the people, to make it easier for the ordinary man to increase his resources. The bill is opposed by special interests and by Constitutional literalists, and it can become law only if the country gives it its hearty support. A bill for the control of industrial corporations is also before Congress. It is of great importance. It carries out that policy of Federal control over modern industry which during the past six or seven years has been approved most emphatically by the Nation. Now that this bill is before Congress, ready for discussion and for such modification in detail as may be needed, the country will have to renew its demand. Other bills, less conspicuous, but not less vitally affecting the public interest, are to come before Congress, such as those to establish a Bureau of Public Health, in order that the Government may give as much attention to the health of men and women as it does to that of cows; to establish a Children's Bureau, that it may conserve the boys and girls of the Nation as well as its coal and oil; to modify injunctions, so that it may promote justice between men; to provide a better government for Alaska, so that the American population there may have at least as good a chance to live under orderly conditions as have the Filipinos and the Porto Ricans, and at least as good a chance as they to well-distributed wealth. The people of America have only a limited amount of attention that they can devote to their Federal Government; if they are not to be frustrated, they must give some of that attention to Congress.

If, as some people predict, the next House of Representatives is to be Democratic, then the chance for the enactment of such measures as these will be greatly reduced after this session. A Congress divided against itself is not likely to be an actively legislating Congress. If it is to remain Republican as it is now, it must prove its present ability to carry out the people's will. In either case, this legislative programme, if it is to be enacted at

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all, must be enacted within the next few months. The country must see that Congress does its task. That is the present duty.

THE NEW YORK POLICE PROBLEM

Mayor Gaynor is taking hold of the New York City police problem with vigor, and, if he is sustained by the Police Commissioner and his immediate subordinates, or is able to get subordinates who will sustain him, there is a good promise that he will succeed in introducing some better degree of discipline in a force which now sadly lacks it. Up to this time the policemen have been less dependent on the Police Commissioner, or even on the Mayor, than they were on political leaders and a political organization which made and unmade mayors. Of this political control even the Police Commissioner could not be independent—and remain Police Commissioner—as was demonstrated by the fate which befell General Bingham. We may reasonably hope that the investigations which Mayor Gaynor has so vigorously undertaken will at least make two much-needed improvements: the police patrols will really patrol the streets at night, which are now too often left unguarded while the appointed guardians sleep or engage in pleasant social fellowship; and the brutalities sometimes indulged in by ill-tempered individual members of the force will be less frequent, if they do not altogether cease.

But the radical reforms which are indispensable to make the police force of New York City what it ought to be cannot be achieved by any Mayor, however honest and efficient, without the co-operation of the Legislature in two important respects.

At present the policeman's office is regarded as a piece of property of which he cannot be deprived without due process of law. And this principle is so construed that any policeman dismissed for the good of the service can appeal to the civil courts, and, unless the removal can be sustained before the courts by the kind of evidence required in determining the rights of property by the courts, he can be reinstated. Nor is this a barren right. Frequently it has been availed of by discharged policeman, who have been reinstated and awarded their salary for all the time they were out of commission, so that the discipline to which they have been subjected by their superior officer has been a vacation of one or two years with full salary paid during the vacation.

Two claims for this system are interposed by its defenders. First, that it is very rare that policemen have been reinstated without adequate grounds. There is good reason to question the accuracy of this claim, but, if it were true, it would not justify the practice. It is impossible to maintain true discipline in the force if disciplinary acts of the superior officer are always subject to review by the civil courts, with the consequent certainty of delay and uncertainty of result. For adequate discipline, promptitude of action and inevitableness of penalty are indispensable. What discipline could be maintained in a school if every teacher were liable to a damage suit for the suspension or expulsion of a pupil? What discipline in an army if every soldier might appeal to the courts for reinstatement after his discharge? The police force should have its police court, as the army has its military court; the accused member of the force should be entitled to a court martial, and the decision of that court martial should be final. The police force is essentially a military force, and the laws which govern it should be military laws.

The other defense for the present system may be thus stated: Tammany controls the police; it would control the police court; any policeman who was not obedient to Tammany might find himself at any time discharged under circumstances which would make him ever after a marked man. This argument reduced to its simplest terms is: If democracy gives to a public officer the power necessary to enable him to be efficient, he may misuse it. Therefore, deprive him of the power and leave him inefficient. To concede this argument is to concede that democracy is a failure, for it is to concede that democracy cannot secure honest, faithful, and efficient public officers. The remedy for dishonest officers is not to deprive them of power; it is to deprive them of office. It is true that injustice

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might sometimes be done by a police court with power of final judgment. So injustice is sometimes done by a court martial and sometimes by the ordinary courts of civil and criminal law. This is only to say that to err is human. Under the present system, in order to prevent occasional injustice to a single policeman, we have invented a system which inflicts continual injustice on the entire community by depriving the community of the advantage of a well-organized and well-disciplined police force to protect its person and its property.

The other radical remedy which New York City has a right to demand of the Legislature relates to the Excise Law, and of that we shall speak in a future issue.

LENTEN THOUGHTS

THE LIVING CHRIST

There is but a single sentence relating to the Christ in the Roman literature of his time, and that declares that he was "executed in the reign of Tiberius by the order of the Administrator, Pontius Pilate." That event was a central fact in the history of Christian faith, but there was another fact of still greater importance; he also rose from the dead! A small group of disciples saw him die on Mount Calvary; a small group saw him reappear and heard his voice and watched his coming and going for a little time; a mighty host, with St. Paul at their head, bore witness to his resurrection by their quenchless zeal in his service, their faith in his victory over death and the grave, their readiness to lay down their lives for his sake. The historic Christ is the foundation of the Christian's faith; the living Christ is his inspiration, his consolation, his companion.

The early followers thought oftener of the living than of the historic Christ; even those who had seen him in the flesh or had heard the story of his wonderful words and deeds from those who had walked with him in his earthly ministry looked forward to his return rather than back to his going out of the world. For many decades the churches waited upon his coming in the clouds of heaven, at times almost breathless with expectation. His followers had largely ceased to be Jews; the vast majority were Greek-speaking people, to whom the Jewish background of his life counted for little; Rome had obliterated the Jewish state; the earliest community of his disciples had been scattered. It was to the future that the Christian world turned with confident expectation that there were then living those who should not taste death until they saw his second coming, surrounded by hosts of angels, in the glory of his final triumph. It was to the living Christ that the heart of the world turned with eager and impatient hope. "In the events of his earthly career," says a recent writer, "the believers took little interest; if they looked back at all, it was to declare that the Lord himself had instituted the rite of the common meal, for which they met week by week, and that he had prescribed the form of their daily prayer to their Father in Heaven."

But one by one the expectant generations went to their graves and he did not reappear; they had learned to die with him symbolically, their lesson was now to learn to live with him in the spirit. In the place of a sudden and dramatic ending of the struggle to establish his kingdom they slowly discerned that they must accept a long and arduous process of education. That kingdom had a deeper foundation than they had understood, and in the building of it many generations must conspire in the power of a faith which left times and seasons in his hand. The vision of a heaven suddenly made glorious with the angelic host slowly faded, and as it vanished the historic Christ became more real and vivid to many than the living Christ.

It was the living Christ, however, who sent Paul to the nations outside Palestine with the glorious news that he had risen from the dead; and it was the living Christ who conquered the new world that built itself on the ruins of Rome and became the Christian world of to-day. It is the living Christ who moves the hearts of men to-day to care for the children, the weak, the disinherited, the sorrowful; to establish justice in the earth; to hate greed and avarice, and love generosity and helpfulness. It is the living Christ who walks with us in the sorrows of life

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and stands beside us when we commit those we love to the dust; it is he who gives us strength when we are weak, and light when the darkness closes about us. He is invisible, as are all the great physical forces, the great moral laws, the great spiritual influences that play through the world. If one doubts the existence of the law of gravity, he has but to throw himself from a height; if he doubts the reality of the moral law, he has but to violate it and the invisible penalty is instantly imposed on him, not from without, but from within; if one doubts whether there is a living Christ, he has but to trust him in some trial, to rest on his promise of help in some great sorrow, to call upon him in some temptation. He lives not only in the hearts of those who love him, but in their daily needs and cares and work—at once their strength, their peace, their infallible guide.

THE WAR IN PHILADELPHIA

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE

LAST night, between daylight and dark, a fellow-craftsman and I boarded a car on Kensington Avenue for the ride back to the City Hall. The carmen's strike was then just six days old—a strike which had taken several thousand (variously estimated by company officials and labor leaders at from four to six) men from their cars, had for four days filled a considerable area of the city with violence and disorder, had damaged more or less seriously nearly a thousand cars, had killed several persons, and injured hundreds more. Our route lay through what had been the most turbulent section of the city. We passed over the spot where, on the first day of the strike, a courageous if foolhardy volunteer motorman, driving his car full speed through the crowd with one hand on the controller and the other holding a revolver, was dragged from the platform when the car had been wrecked by a spiked switch, and killed "cold," as an imaginative policeman described it. We rode between rows of the great textile mills which make the Kensington district of Philadelphia one of the biggest industrial centers in the country, and whose throngs of workers emptied into the streets at this very hour had earlier in the week provided the material for threatening and riotous mobs.

But we rode quietly and uneventfully, except for one tiny incident. It explained graphically why rioting was no more, and why Philadelphia was, practically speaking, again at peace. The car ahead developed internal trouble, and finally had to transfer its passengers to ours and switch back to the barn. The maneuver took a few minutes, and presently three cars were standing there together. It made what was, under the circumstances, a natural focus of interest, and a group of perhaps a dozen or a score quickly gathered on the corner. But more swiftly yet there galloped up from various directions five men on horseback. One of them, without an instant's hesitation, guided his horse, no less intelligent and ready than he, on to the sidewalk among the curiosity-seekers, and scattered them like flying leaves. One man, as he was crowded up on the steps of a saloon, turned and protested, but a quick thrust of the rider's arm sent him through the saloon door to think it over inside.

The incident was hardly an incident at all. It was rather a symbol, made more significant by the futile presence on the corner of at least three of Philadelphia's (very) ordinary policemen. One survey of these guardians of the peace suggested why Philadelphia had been terrorized. They were fat, flabby, good-natured, weak-looking men, too obviously the creatures of a corrupt political machine, petty politicians each in his own little circle, given their jobs in return for the votes they could hold together for the machine candidates. The keeper of a little restaurant where we had just supped epitomized the secret of their utter failure to control the rioting crowds: "You can't

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ask a man to-day to vote your ticket and to-morrow crack him over the head with a night-stick."

One look at the men on horseback, on the other hand, and one exhibition of their methods, showed why the arrival of only 170 members of the State constabulary had accomplished what 3,000 policemen had failed to do. The troopers were sinewy, athletic fellows, clear of eye and lean of jaw, bent simply but with terrible intentness upon their single business of keeping peace. It needed hardly more than their presence, with one or two trials of their temper, to break the back of disorder and mob rule.

But, after all, the violence which marked the first days of the strike is more a symptom of the general condition of misrule which Philadelphia hugs to its bosom than an important element in the conflict between capital and labor in that city. Given a political, inefficient police force and an extensive hoodlum element, whose existence and growth such a condition inevitably permits if it does not foster, and riot follows a strike as infallibly as ever sore heads a Donnybrook fair. How far the strikers are to be held responsible for the disorder is hard to say. The leaders certainly preached against disorder, and among those who were arrested and sentenced to terms of from a month to six years there were apparently no carmen. But the leaders also protested formally and bitterly against the presence of the Constabulary (quite clearly the only force which could really insure peace); a committee of the strikers tried to induce our restaurant-keeper, for example, to refuse to feed the police; and expressions among the carmen of satisfaction at the prevalence of violence were more common than deprecation of it. The responsibility for the lion's share of the disorder must be laid, however, at the door of rowdy gangs, uncontrolled youths, and discontented factory workers, strangers to that respect for law and order which a corrupt administration and a debauched police force have been unable or undesirous to instill.

But what of the strike itself? It is the second engagement in a campaign for the enforcement of the principle of the closed shop on the traction lines in Philadelphia. That the closed shop is the ultimate issue the traction officials stoutly claim; while the labor leaders practically admit that that is the goal toward which they are trying to win, by successive moves. The first engagement was the strike of last June. The carmen's union, which had been in existence for several years, was weak and ineffective until C. O. Pratt, a representative of the National organization who had done successful work in Cleveland, came to Philadelphia and assumed the leadership. Under his guidance the union was strengthened, and in June a strike was declared for higher wages, easier hours, the right to buy uniforms at more than one store, and the right to present grievances to the company through a representative committee. Unfortunately, the strike was settled, neither by the fortune of war nor by arbitration, but by political interference.

The traction company, like the Metropolitan system in New York, has been built up by the consolidation of numerous lines and by successive reorganizations with the usual injections of abundant water, until it is so burdened with fixed charges on overlapping issues of securities that it is, all but technically, bankrupt. The final, holding company has never made money, and seemingly never expects to. As an inevitable result of the financial jugglings, the service which the system renders is, in the word of one of its responsible officers, "rotten."

The company has long been in bad odor with the decent citizens of Philadelphia, and as a consequence the strikers had much public sympathy in their first fight. That strike was going on just before the primary at which the supremacy of the Republican machine was threatened by a reform movement, and the machine leaders realized that its continuance would help to jeopardize their cause at the primary polls. The very day before the primary the Republican boss of the city came to the traction officials, informed them that the strike must be settled that night, laid an agreement before them, and declared that if it was not signed every policeman would be taken off their cars the next day. The officials, who believed that they were winning the strike, considered for two or three hours, discussed whether they could hire men to protect their cars, found that

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the city officials would not swear them in if they could hire them, realized that without police protection they could not hope to run their cars—and signed the agreement. The agreement provided for the reinstatement of the strikers without prejudice, for the presentation of grievances through accredited representatives, for the purchase of uniforms at any one of five stores instead of at a single one, for less onerous hours, for a slight increase of wages and a further increase if an audit of the company's books should show that it could afford to pay more. The agreement was to remain in force for a year.

The settlement was a victory for the union, although it was brought about by political pressure. It was naturally galling to the company, and quite as naturally it tended to make the members of the union a little arrogant. What has happened since that settlement is a matter of bitter controversy, and to attempt to give, after such brief study, an exact estimate of the truth would be ridiculous. One thing is certain, however. Sometime last fall a new union came into existence among the carmen, familiarly known as the Keystone. It obtained a membership of about two thousand men, and when its committee came to the company officials with some grievance, the officials treated with it as they had done with the older union. Now the strike leaders assert that the Keystone was organized by the efforts of the company officials, working through detectives, that its purpose was to injure the interests of the older union, and that when it was once formed the officials discriminated systematically against members of the old union and in favor of the Keystone men. The latter, it is claimed, were given preference in promotion to positions of responsibility, while the former were not only not promoted, but were discharged wherever a pretext could be found. The company, on the other hand, absolutely denies having had any connection with the formation of the Keystone or any knowledge of it until it was an accomplished fact. It admits, however, that members of the old union received fewer promotions than those who were not members of it; but its officials contend that that arose because the members of that union, puffed up by their victory last June, and made arrogant by their new feeling of power, became careless, insubordinate, and inefficient. To all intents and purposes the company says: Yes, the union men were discriminated against and the Keystone men favored, but for good reason—because each group of men deserved just what they got. Early in January the union committee began negotiations with the company for a new agreement to supplant that made last June. The labor leaders declared that the officials had violated every clause of that agreement except one—that relating to the purchase of uniforms. The rock upon which the negotiations split was, it is claimed by the employers, the question of the recognition of more than one union. The officials wanted inserted in the agreement the following clause in place of one which they contend would have compelled them to discuss grievances with the committee of one union only:

> Employees shall be free to join or not to join any organization, and may present their grievances to the company individually, or, if members of any organization of employees, by a committee or the representatives thereof, and there shall be no intimidation or discrimination against any employees so doing by any officers of the company or their subordinates.

The strike leaders, on the other hand, assert that there were several points at issue, including a further wage increase; but at the same time they admit that they insist upon the elimination of the Keystone union, and that the proper and adequate recognition of their union is the basic principle of their contest. Negotiations were continued with little progress for a month, until, on Friday and Saturday, February 18 and 19, the company discharged 173 men. As soon as this news reached the union headquarters a strike was ordered, and the cars stopped running within an hour. Those discharges, the company officials say, were merely an accumulation of discipline cases which had been allowed to pile up while the conferences over the proposed agreement were under way. There was no abnormal number of them, they assert, for in the regular course of business ten or a dozen men are discharged every day. The strike leaders, however, declare that there were from four

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to six hundred dismissals, and that the move was only the first of a series intended to weaken the union and to force a strike when the company wanted it. The company's figures and explanation of the dismissals is probably the true one, with this modification. Officials who were seriously striving to make peace with their men would hardly have chosen a moment in the midst of important negotiations for a wholesale discharge which even in the most normal times could not fail to arouse bitter feeling. The company probably wanted to force the strike then and there, convinced that it must make a strong fight against the closed shop principle and that its strategic position was better at the moment than that of the union.

The fight was apparently inevitable. The company is unalterably opposed to the closed shop principle. The union is young, led by a man who has won victories in similar fights elsewhere, and whose personal reputation and position in his chosen field depend upon his success in establishing and making powerful trade unionism wherever he goes. Pratt is a Welshman, of attractive presence, with personal magnetism, though of a rather superficial and evanescent kind, a ready and "smooth" talker, a clever strategist, the possessor of an exaggerated ego. He gives the impression of a man who is interested in winning fights, in beating the other side, in making his cause more powerful than that of his opponents, rather than in redressing grievances and improving the condition of the workingman. He seems to be working for Labor rather than for laborers. Of course the two things must go hand in hand to a great extent, but the point at which the emphasis is placed makes a deal of difference.

As I have said, the conflict was inevitable now or later; the company almost certainly forced the issue at this moment, and apparently with excellent judgment. In my opinion, which should perhaps be accepted with caution, for my study of the situation has been of the briefest, the union was not yet in a strong enough position to make the fight with any hope of success. It was beaten, I believe, as soon as the little troop of State Mounted Police began to patrol the streets. For, little as the strikers may have been responsible for the disorder, it undoubtedly helped their cause and weakened their opponents, at least for the moment. The company has gone steadily on, running more and more cars every day. Yesterday they had over 700 cars running, out of a normal service of about 2,000. Wherever I went cars were passing, at irregular intervals it is true, but making on the whole a good showing. Apparently nothing can help the strikers' cause now but a general strike among the Philadelphia trades. That has been voluminously discussed, threatened several times—and in all probability could not be brought about. And if it could, it would probably hurt the general cause of organized labor more than it would benefit the striking carmen. In many trades in Philadelphia employers and employees have trade agreements, and to break such contracts for the sake of a sympathetic strike would cast discredit on all union labor. This is especially true because of the fact that the striking employees have not, it seems to me, a very strong case to bring before the bar of public opinion. Their grievances are more the grievances of their leaders than of the rank and file. So I believe the union will lose this fight because it is not strong enough to win, and because it has not a cause at this moment which commands the support of the popular mind.

The situation in Philadelphia, of which this strike forms one aspect, is intricate and complex. The web of misgovernment and political corruption in which the city is entangled, the interrelations between the political machine and a traction company all but drowned in the water injected by its exploiters, the domination of great department stores over almost the entire press of the city, with the effect of concealing and misrepresenting public sentiment, go to make up a situation which could not be illuminated without weeks of study, perhaps not even then. Philadelphia deserves its fate. This strike and the attendant violence were some of the things (if I may be sadly colloquial) "that were coming to it." Let us hope this pin jab may join with many others to wake the city up.

HAROLD J. HOWLAND.

Philadelphia, February 26.

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THE LAND WITHOUT STRIKES

BY PAUL KENNADAY

BY law strikes are forbidden in New Zealand. By law strikes are also in a measure prevented. New Zealand labor and capital bring their differences before State-appointed tribunals, and the awards of those tribunals have the same effect as have the judgments of the law courts in other civil actions, but no greater effect. Awards once agreed to by the parties or settled by the Appeal Court become the law of the land, binding upon the community, binding upon the litigants, enforced, if need be, by attachment and other pains and penalties.

They came to this compulsory arbitration of labor disputes in New Zealand as a result of hard experience. Strike after strike had crippled the industries of Australia, and in New Zealand, as in the Australian states, the bitterness and resentment of workers defeated in their long, unequal industrial struggle called loudly for a redress of grievances.

In New Zealand and Australia various schemes of voluntary arbitration were discussed. Mr. William Pember Reeves, Minister for Labor, in 1892 placed before the Parliament of New Zealand a bill for the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. It took two years before the upper house would consent to the novel and drastic principle of compulsion which experience and study had convinced the author of the bill was vital to the successful operation of arbitration. Since then the original Act has come in for a plentiful amount of tinkering. As experience has shown defects in the original Act, amendment after amendment has been added, and at its session of 1908, in response to widespread discontent with the administration of the old law, Parliament recast the much-amended original Act into the "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1908."

It is in the details of administration, however, that most of the changes have occurred. In the new Act, as in the old, are found State-appointed conciliation tribunals of original jurisdiction, to determine the differences between disputing parties and to bring them to agreement on an award; an appeal court, rendering final awards of binding effect; and the penalizing of strikes and lockouts.

Only those workers may avail themselves of the Act who are registered as "industrial unions." "To encourage the formation of industrial unions and associations" was declared in its title to be the purpose of the original Act. And although a shocked upper house succeeded later in striking out this open discouragement of "free contract," New Zealand has continued deliberately to legislate against non-union labor. While employers singly or in association may sue and be sued, the Act has brought about on the part of capital a corresponding strong movement toward association for mutual protection and support. The rights and the responsibilities of the individual have merged in those of the group.

Disputes in the first instance are heard by Councils of Conciliation, composed of a commissioner and from two to six assessors. Each commissioner is appointed for three years, and exercises jurisdiction within one or more of the industrial districts into which New Zealand is divided. When workers or employers make application to him to hear a dispute, the commissioner, from nominations made to him by workers and employers, appoints to sit with him as a Council of Conciliation assessors who are or who have been actually and genuinely engaged as employers or workers in the industry in respect to which the dispute has arisen.

It is the duty of these Councils to endeavor to bring about the settlement of disputes, and, if they are successful in this regard, the terms of the settlement are set forth in an industrial agreement binding upon all parties for a period of not more than three years, fixed in the award, and continuing in force after the expiry of the term originally set until superseded by another industrial agreement or by an award of the court.

Disputes which the Councils are unable to settle are heard before the Court of

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Arbitration. The members of this Court are a presiding judge, usually taken from the Supreme Court bench, who holds office for life, and two "nominated" members, holding office for three years, and nominated by employers and workers respectively. In any particular industry under review the Court may prescribe a minimum rate of wages, may give "preference to unionists," and may make its awards a common rule for an entire industrial district, and, in certain cases, for the entire dominion. Its judgments are final, and are not subject to review by other courts; the money damages it imposes may be collected through magistrates' courts in the same manner as ordinary judgments for debt or damages; and for strikes, in addition to money damages, it may order that the registration of the offending union shall be canceled.

While a dispute is pending before Councils or the Court anything in the nature of a strike or lockout is punishable by a fine of not more than $250 upon the guilty party, whether employer, trade union, or individual worker. If an award or industrial agreement has come into operation in an industry, every worker who is a party to a strike is liable to a penalty of $50, and a penalty of $2,500 may be imposed upon every employer who is a party to a lockout in that industry. Instigating, aiding, or abetting strikes or lockouts is further punishable by fines of $50 upon individual workers and of $1,000 upon trade unions and employers.

Such, in brief, is the new Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of New Zealand. The features of the old Act which had caused the most irritation have been eliminated, but it is as yet too early to determine whether the recent amendments will not themselves give rise to fresh discord. By compelling the parties first to lay their claims before the Councils of Conciliation, instead of giving to them the option of going in the first instance either to a Conciliation Board or directly to the Arbitration Court, the volume of that Court's business will be much lightened, and labor's general complaint will be met against the delays to which cases coming before the Court were formerly subjected. The four strikes of 1908 which brought about the amendment of the old Act certainly gave point to the contention of employers that arbitration had been in fact compulsory only because awards had all been in favor of the workers. But it may be that the new Act, with its cancellation of union registration and heavier fines in the event of strikes, may more equably distribute the advantages and burdens of arbitration, and that employers will now no longer complain that the awards of the Court can be readily enforced against them and defied with impunity by the unions.

But if the present scheme of compulsory arbitration does not give the satisfaction the Government promises for it, fresh amendments will be tried. The principle of compulsory arbitration will not be abandoned. There will be no return to our American ways, imperfect though they acknowledge their own ways to be. Neither the New Zealand community nor employers or employed will go as far as that. As well expect an American community to abandon its penal code because all bank presidents are not held to honesty.

But it seems extremely doubtful whether industrial arbitration of the New Zealand compulsory type could operate with much success in other countries not possessed of New Zealand's unique advantages. Economic forces over which the statutes have had no control have played an important part in giving to New Zealand the large measure of industrial peace enjoyed since arbitration has there been compulsory. Times have been good, trade has prospered, money has flowed into New Zealand as never before. Since 1895, when the first Arbitration Act went into effect, the exports of gold have almost doubled, the value of wool exports was last year more than twice what it was in 1895, the frozen meat trade is now very nearly three times as great as it was then, manufactured articles and butter and cheese have been exported every year in ever larger quantities, until now they are six times what they were fifteen years ago. The total annual export of New Zealand produce is now nearly $100,000,000, as against a little over $41,000,000 in 1895. And while factories have been multiplying and while farmers, thanks to the invention of the refrigerator, have been finding

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a steady and ever-ready market in London for their mutton and dairy produce, the Government, increasing the national debt from $200,000,000 in 1895 to $332,000,000 in 1907, has been disbursing each year among a population of less than a million people hundreds of thousands of pounds of money borrowed for the most part in London.

The scarcity of the population—8½ persons to the square mile—and its slow increase, due to one of the lowest birth-rates in the world and to an immigration which during the past decade has brought the total of arrivals to but 70,000 over the total of departures, has been another important factor in the successful operation of New Zealand's compulsory arbitration. If labor has not at all times been as difficult to obtain as has been claimed by employers unwilling to pay more than the lowest wage fixed by law, certainly there has not been any large fringe of unemployed and casual workers, ready and driven to take work away from the regularly employed whenever these demanded more pay or shorter hours. Nor have the women and children given much relief to the situation, only 75,000 women being breadwinners in New Zealand, while the boys and girls under sixteen years of age working in factories number only 2,500. Manufactured articles from neighboring Australia, as well as those coming with heavy freight rates from far-off Europe and America, are tariff taxed, and so factories multiply in an agricultural land; laborers leave farms and sheep "runs" for the higher wages of the city; rents in Wellington become the equal of those in London; New Zealand mutton, butter, and cheese sell in New Zealand at the London market rates; wearing apparel costs what it does in America. The laborer, seeing his money wages higher by far than they were at "home" in England, becomes a firm believer in State-fixed wages, while nothing will shake the faith of the landlord, the manufacturer, and the farmer in State tariff fixed prices.

Conciliation Boards and Arbitration Court have felt the pressure of these forces, and to the constant demands of the workers for more pay to meet the increasing cost of living and the relatively high standard of life in New Zealand they have by a succession of awards favorable to the union demands made the workers of the dominion more than willing to refrain from strikes. The ruin to industry that employers predicted as a consequence of this policy has not occurred; indeed, the expansion of industry has never been so great as during these years since compulsory arbitration has been in force.

In the United States the machinery necessary for the enforcement of a scheme of arbitration on the New Zealand model would be stupendous, and would utterly fail unless we were willing to substitute for our inefficient factory inspection such complete and continued oversight as is practiced by the Labor Bureau of New Zealand. And even our most experienced judges and our most potent captains of industry might quail before the prospect of sitting in judgment on the magnitude and diversity of industrial problems that here would be brought before Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration Courts for adjudication.

Moreover, it has been the experience of New Zealand that unorganized labor cannot be held accountable for its acts, and that it is only by a frank recognition of trade unionism, and indeed by a considerable fostering of unionism, that compulsory arbitration may be in any measure successful. But the closed shop in New Zealand has meant the open union. Union dues must be small, all qualified applicants must be admitted. It is obvious that the strong unions of America, with their restricted memberships, would hesitate before consenting to any such policy, and that they would be unwilling to advance any scheme which would lay open their treasuries to court-imposed fines for refusal to abide by arbitration awards.

Nor has union labor gained much by such a course in New Zealand. The unions, it is true, have grown greatly in number and in membership, due to the Arbitration Act, but that Act, by requiring registration by industrial districts, has checked any movement toward organization of trades on strong national lines. The ranks of unionism have been flooded with men by order of the Court, as it were, changed into trade unionists: men who have not fought the battles of labor, who

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have little or no interest in the trade union ideal, to whom class solidarity means nothing and wages and hours everything. Perhaps it has been on account of these made-to-order unionists, perhaps due to the preponderating influence of trade union secretaries who become the "bush lawyer" representatives of their unions before the Arbitration Court, that the unions of New Zealand have been so slow to realize the defects and dangers of the Arbitration Act. Thanks to his secretary and the Court, the union worker had a few more shillings in his pockets of a Saturday night, and so why worry about rising rents and more costly foodstuffs? and who would bother about forming a political labor party when a Liberal party in power was most solicitous to keep its large and grateful labor vote?

Councils of Conciliation of the New Zealand type, though without power to compel a settlement of differences, would be in any country agencies of practical power. Let us suppose that in the strike of the shirt-waist makers in New York City there had been available, after the New Zealand fashion, a commissioner of conciliation holding a three years' salaried appointment from the Governor. One or more employers, or the Union, could have applied for the appointment of a Council of Conciliation, each side might then nominate to the commissioner assessors familiar with the shirt-waist making industry, and the hearings, public or private, in the discretion of the commissioner, would be speedily under way. Each side could summon witnesses to testify under oath, books and papers could be produced, but—falling in with the wisdom of the New Zealanders—"no barrister or solicitor, whether acting under a power of attorney or otherwise, shall be allowed to be heard before the Council." If a settlement of the dispute should be arrived at by the parties during the course of the inquiry, the terms of the settlement would be set forth in an industrial agreement. If a settlement proved impossible within two months of the appointment of the Council, the Council would give public notice to that effect, accompanied by "such recommendation for the settlement of the dispute according to the merits and substantial justice of the case as the Council thinks fit, and may state in the recommendation whether, in the opinion of the Council, the failure of the parties to arrive at a settlement was due to the unreasonableness or unfairness of any of the parties to the dispute."

Such recommendation would be made only upon the unanimous decision of all the assessors, the commissioner having no vote upon such a matter. "Such recommendation of the Council [would] in no case have any binding force or effect, but [would] operate merely as a suggestion for the amicable settlement of the dispute by mutual agreement and as a public announcement of the opinion of the Council as to the merits of the dispute."

How much more sane and more civilized is this New Zealand method than our own way, where the sole duty of the State is, as the old Tory statesman put it, "to keep the ring"!

The other lesson that New Zealand's Arbitration Act has to teach us concerns the minimum wage. It has been through the exercise of its right to prescribe a minimum rate of wages (with a special provision for a lower rate being fixed in the case of any worker unable to earn the prescribed minimum) that the Arbitration Court in New Zealand has been most signally successful in stamping out the worst evils of the so-called "free contract" between labor and capital. "Sweating," in its typical European and American form, was not uncommon in New Zealand before the days of the minimum wage, but now, with the State determining the rate of pay below which workers may not be employed, no New Zealand employers may make profits out of keeping wages at the point where their employees are not self-sustaining. And the tariff always may be called upon to help save a local industry if a living wage will let in foreign-made goods—lumber milled by the "pauper labor of America," for example. If the industry cannot be saved, public opinion in New Zealand would rather sacrifice the industry than the worker. The Court in fixing the minimum wage takes into consideration the variation in cost of living between city and country, between one industrial district and another; weight is given to

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the standard of ease and comfort generally regarded in the community as essential, as well as to the wages paid in correlated industries; profits are inquired into more with a view to determining how low it is necessary to fix the minimum than how high on a profit-sharing basis it might be raised.

Employers unite in praising this aspect of the law. It has prevented unfair competition by the unscrupulous who would sweat the last penny out of their employees, it has raised the purchasing power of the workers, and it has made the workers in what were formerly the sweated trades—dressmaking, white goods, and other occupations chiefly carried on with women and minors—more efficient, more contented, and more ready buyers of New Zealand commodities. It has accomplished its primary object—there is now no sweating in New Zealand.

But they have gone on beyond this in New Zealand. Minimum wages are fixed by law in trades in no sense sweated. The Arbitration Court is called upon to settle an industrial dispute, and in rendering its award it must determine the often recurring question of wages. It fixes a minimum wage for slaughtermen, carriage-makers, miners, wharf laborers, bakers, shoemakers, in any and all occupations, skilled or unskilled, for time or piece workers. Here employers are unanimous in objecting. They say, and the facts appear to be wholly with them, that the Court-fixed wage is in no proper sense a minimum; rather that it is, or at least becomes, a standard wage. No latitude is left for varying ability; the slow and shiftless, unless he sinks to the level of incompetency, where a permit may be issued for his payment at special rates, must be carried by the energetic and competent, and all workers, good and bad, must be paid the same rate. Moreover, as the wages customarily paid in any industry are considered by the Court on subsequent application to fix a new minimum wage for that industry, employers feel that any payment they may voluntarily make above that required by the award under which they are working may be used against them when that award expires and they are next haled to court.

And yet, although under this extension of the original minimum wage conception there does not appear to be in New Zealand a sufficient reward for exceptional skill and exertion, the average of wages is not high in New Zealand when compared with the cost of living or when the general high efficiency of the New Zealand worker is considered. Wages are higher than in Great Britain, whence most New Zealanders or their fathers have come, and so New Zealand, with its sunshine and its balmy air, its little cities and big pastures, its few rich and many well-to-do, its time for all to watch and gamble upon football, cricket, and horse-racing, has come to be called God's Own Country. Yet the wage-earners are beginning to appreciate the fact that it needs more than an increase of money wages to increase their real earnings, that their margin of profit is no more now than it was fifteen years ago, and that to regulate wages and to leave prices unregulated means that their standard wage will remain always but a minimum wage.

Two men in the capital city of Wellington put in a few words the present awakening of labor in New Zealand and the general complacency of capital in relation to State regulation of wages. The first was a young Irishman with the memories of evictions in his Irish home still rankling. "Well, if this is your God's Own Country, all I've got to say is that there's a lot of absentee landlordism here."

The other was a shoe manufacturer. "We don't care much how the Court increases wages, provided they don't go so far as to let in foreign shoes over our tariff wall. The people pay more for wearing our shoes, that's all."

The New Zealanders are willing to pay for industrial peace, and if they may not save enough for this from the savings of strikes prevented, then they are quite prepared to pay more for their shoes. We of America for some years appear to have been making advance payment on our shoes. It seems time now for the American purchaser and the American worker to insist that they, too, shall get their money's worth through State Boards of Conciliation and State-fixed minimum wages.

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THE ETHICAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS

I.—SOBRIETY

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

On June 6, 1899, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania accepted from the Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., LL.D., and his wife, a Deed of Gift providing for a Foundation to be known as "The Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics," the income of the Fund to be expended in procuring the delivery, on stated occasions, at the University of Pennsylvania, of Lectures on Christian Ethics, from the standpoint of the life, example, and teachings of Jesus Christ. The first lecture in this course was delivered by Dr. Boardman himself on November 18, 1900, his subject being "The Golden Rule;" the second lecture by the Rev. Oliver Huckel, of Baltimore, on March 20, 1906, his subject being "A Modern Study of Conscience;" the third lecture by Dr. Lyman Abbott on December 1, 1909, on "The Ethical Teachings of Jesus." The last lecture was delivered extemporaneously, and was afterwards written out by the author on the basis of the stenographer's notes. The series of four articles, of which this is the first one, is in substance this lecture delivered upon the George Dana Boardman Foundation.

The most ancient creed in Christendom

Scholars have made a very careful and microscopic examination of the four Gospels. We know from the preface to Luke's Gospel that he edited it out of pre-existing materials; and there is good reason to believe that this is true of the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark. I have no disesteem for the labors of those scholars who have endeavored to ascertain what are these pre-existing materials, and how far, in these Gospels, we have the exact teachings of Jesus of Nazareth and how far they may have been modified or colored by their reporters. But into those scholarly investigations I shall not enter. I shall simply attempt to interpret to you the life and teachings of Jesus as we find them recorded in the four memorabilia of his life and instructions. In other words, what I shall try to do will be to interpret the life and teachings of Jesus as they were understood at the close of the first century by the Christian Church. That understanding is embodied, or at least indicated, by what is the oldest creed in Christendom, a creed which is found in the Epistle to Titus: "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ."

You will observe of this creed, first, that it is vital, and, second, that it is comprehensive. Most of the creeds of Christendom state what we should think. This creed aims to state how we should live. "The grace of God hath appeared teaching us that we should *live*." And this creed is comprehensive. It covers the four relations in which man stands in this life: his relation to the material universe through his body; his relation to his fellow-man; his relation to God; and his relation to the future. What the author of this ancient creed thought was that Jesus Christ teaches us how we should live in this fourfold relation; and these are all the relations in which we stand and which our conduct can affect; for we cannot alter the past. Our duty to ourselves in our relation to the material world through our body is expressed by the word "soberly;" our duty to our fellow-men, and incidentally to the brute creation, is expressed by the word "righteously;" our duty to God is expressed by the word "godly," or devoutly, or piously; and our correct feeling respecting the future by the word "hopefully."

What, then, did Jesus teach respecting sobriety, righteousness, godliness, hope? In other words, what did Jesus teach respecting our relations to the material world, to our fellow-men, to the Eternal, and to the future? You will not expect me in a single hour to give a complete and comprehensive interpretation of all these teachings which the Christian Church has been engaged in interpreting for

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many centuries. If, when I have finished, you shake your heads and say, "I think that was very imperfect," allow me to say, at the outset, I heartily agree with you; it will be very imperfect.

Christ pities the prosperous

In one striking passage Jesus has taught us that he does not think that either happiness or wealth or reputation or power is an end to be sought; and these four desires—the desire for pleasure, for wealth, for power, and for reputation—are four very dominating desires in human life. To clear the way for what I shall have to say, let me first put this negative teaching of Jesus:

> Alas for you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Alas for you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Alas for you laughing ones! for ye shall mourn and weep. Alas for you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

Here are four types of men whom we are apt to envy; the rich, the full, the merry, and the popular. And Christ pities all four.

He does not pity the rich because he is rich; but he pities the rich because he has received his consolation—because, that is, he has gotten that for which he has been striving. He does not pity the satisfied because he is contented with what he has: he pities him because he has no aspirations, no outreachings, because he is full, because he desires nothing more in the future; for aspiration is the secret of progress. He does not pity all that laugh, but the laughing ones, the merrymakers, the men and women who think that life is one huge jest, who never take anything seriously, who count "all the world a stage, and men and women only players." And he does not pity men who are thought well of; but he pities men when all men think well of them; because no man who has courage, vigor, forcefulness, and real and vital influence in making the world better than it is has all men thinking well of him. The desire for happiness, the desire for wealth, the desire for rest or satisfaction, and the desire for popularity—Jesus disowned them all as legitimate ends of life. The men who made these desires their dominating motives were objects of Jesus' pity. Taking this statement as a clue, what did he teach respecting the world and the body? What respecting our relations to our fellow-men? What respecting our relations to God? What respecting our relations to the future?

Christ not an ascetic

Jesus Christ was not an ascetic. He did not condemn the desire for pleasure. He did not renounce the world. He did not call on his disciples to renounce the world. He said of himself that he came eating and drinking; and that was so characteristic of him that men said of him that he was gluttonous and a wine-bibber. It is true that they lied; but you can tell a good deal about a man from the lies that people tell of him. They would not have told that kind of a lie of an ascetic. It was not that kind of a lie that they did tell of an ascetic—John the Baptist, who came neither eating nor drinking; the lie they told about him was that "he hath a devil." Jesus Christ accepted a great many invitations to feasts, and from all sorts of people: from reputable people and from disreputable people, from men and women of fine social position, and from men of no social position at all. Nor do the Gospels anywhere contain a record of his having ever declined any invitation to a social gathering. He compared himself to a man playing in the market-place that the children might dance to his playing. In the parable of the prodigal son he spoke of music and dancing with apparent approval. He began his ministry by creating wine to prolong the festivities of a wedding occasion; and as, in that Oriental age and country, the wedding festivities ordinarily lasted three or four days at the least, it would seem to an average Puritan that they hardly needed prolongation. He ended his ministry by bringing his disciples around a table and saying to them, I have desired greatly to have this last supper with you; and I want you to remember me in connection with the supper table. He wore a robe so precious that the soldiers would not rend it, but cast lots for it. He did not think good dress or good food or harmless pleasure was wicked. He did not think the material world a bad world. He rejoiced in it. He loved the trees

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and the flowers and the birds and the clouds and the mountains and the lakes. So far as he had any hours of rest and recreation, they were spent either on the mountain top or in a little sailboat on the Sea of Galilee.

Christ not an epicure

But, on the other hand, no one, I think, has ever accused Jesus Christ of being an epicure. He did not live for good things. He did not care much about good things. He was born in a manger; he spent the earlier years of his life in a peasant cottage; when he began his ministry, and from that time onward, he was without a home. To a disciple desirous to follow him, he said, "I have not a place wherein to lay my head." He was invited at one time to a friend's house; the housekeeper was busy getting a great supper for him, and she asked him to send her sister to help her. In reply he made it very clear that he did not care about a great supper. He cared a great deal more about a sympathetic listener than he did about an overloaded table. We have one incident in the Gospel narratives which shows what his ordinary food was. He had been preaching all day; the sun was beginning to sink behind the western hills; the time had come to dismiss the assembly. But Jesus, it is said, had compassion on the multitude, and was unwilling to send them away fasting lest they faint by the way; for many of them were a long distance from their homes. To provide them with food he asked the disciples what they had. Seven barley loaves, somewhat resembling our sea biscuit, and two little fishes, caught from the Sea of Galilee, corresponding to our sardines. Such was apparently his ordinary food—that of the poorer peasant class. Jesus did not, on the one hand, treat material things as the source of evil, nor the animal appetites and passions as sinful; nor did he, on the other, yield himself to the animal appetites and passions, or make them the source of his happiness.

"Where shall we draw the line?"

Jesus Christ did not draw lines; he did not say, All things are wicked; nor did he draw a line and say, The things on one side of this line are wicked, and the things on the other side of this line are right. He did not prescribe rules for the regulation of conduct. Rules are temporary; principles are eternal. Christ formulated no rules; he interpreted principles. Sobriety is not conformity to rules; it is a principle of conduct, and even more a spirit of life. A few years ago some stir was made in this country by a now forgotten little book bearing some such title as "What Jesus Christ Would Do if He Came to Chicago." I do not know what Jesus Christ would do if he came to Philadelphia. I heard the other day that a college evangelist told the students that if Jesus Christ were in college he would be captain of a football team. I do not know whether he would be the captain of a football team or not. But I am very sure that, if he were the captain of a football team, the man on the team who tried to win success by foul play would get a rebuke that he would remember all the days of his life. And I am sure that if he came to Chicago or New York or Philadelphia, the men who are corrupting our great cities would be branded with a hot iron and would carry the brand with them for the rest of their lives. My total abstinence friend is very sure that Jesus that Christ would be a total abstainer if he were in America; my friend who makes a moderate use of wine and beer is sure that he would not be a total abstainer if he were in America. I do not undertake to say whether he would be a total abstainer or not; but I am very sure that he would not confound total abstinence and temperance. He would not think that total abstinence from alcoholic beverages is the same as the virtue of self-control. He would not preach such a doctrine of temperance that a man who eats pie until his flesh is as soft as pastry and drinks coffee until his color is as yellow as coffee could call himself a temperance man because he did not drink beer.

The minister is continually asked today, "Where shall I draw the line?" And the answer of Jesus Christ, I think, would be, There are no lines. He would not teach that knocking balls around on a green lawn is right because that is croquet, and knocking balls around on a green table is wrong because that is billiards. He would not teach that cards are right if you

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have historical names on them, and wrong if you have spades and hearts on them. He would not teach that it is right to have a tableau or a charade in a church sociable, and wrong to see a play given by professionals in a theater. He would not teach that it is wrong to wear precious jewels and right to wear precious flowers. He would teach this: No enjoyment is right that does not help to develop manhood and womanhood; and no enjoyment is wrong that does help to develop manhood and womanhood. What is luxury? A comfort that enervates. What is comfort? A luxury that does not enervate. The life is more than meat; the body is more than raiment. Personality is more than things. All things are right if they are contributing to character; all things are wrong if they are not contributing to character. That was the essence of Christ's teaching concerning our relation to the material world. Temperance is the control of the body by the spirit for ministry to the spirit. Nothing less than this deserves the name of temperance.

What did Jesus Christ mean by righteousness? will be the theme of my next paper.

THE CART DWELLERS

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

THEY stirred my imagination, I believe, from the time I was a little girl. We were stopping in Arques-á-la-Bataille, which, you remember, is in Normandy and near Dieppe. On the one hand there is a castle, and upon the other a mysterious and ancient forest. The country is a fertile and smiling one, and there are fine examples of French country houses. One, I remember, we called "the Moated Grange." There were fine and prosperous farmhouses with roomy and sunlit kitchens and yawning, capacious fireplaces where the *pot-au-feu* simmered perpetually in an iron pot hung from a crane.

One evening I slipped forth from the hotel bent on a walk by myself, the spirit of adventure burning high within me. I think the ease with which a girl may come by this high-hearted emotion has never been done justice to. For a boy to go for a walk in the early evening under the stars and see a young moon and a late twilight turn a little French street into the very image of a Cazin may move him, if he has a turn for painting, with that emotion which one must have when one sees before one, in the flesh, so to speak, the pictures he has loved, but it will hardly cause his heart to beat, nor will it give him the delightful feeling, so prized in youth, of doing the forbidden. A lad will seek farther afield and in muddier places for this emotion, but life is so full of the sharp knots of convention for a properly brought up girl that she may taste of adventure and haply transgress the rules laid down for her at any turn of the road, and do it also without losing any of the innocence of her heart. It is one of the privileges of being a woman which has received too little praise.

I walked through my Cazin feeling myself in an enchanted picture-book. The confines of the town were marked by an ancient stone cross, and there, where no houses should have been, small lighted windows blinked at me with red eyes. A dog barked warningly as though I were trespassing on private property. I could hear the whimper of a baby within the dark bulk and closed windows. Yet that very day I had passed this place and there had been no cottage at all.

A white object moved in the shadowy hedge, and in a moment I saw it was a horse and that the cottage was on wheels. Presently from the cross a girl's voice hailed me with a courteous "*Bon soir.*"

"*Bon soir,*" I answered, and seated myself beside a girl of my own age.

"Do you go far?" she asked. She took me for some one returning from work.

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"No," I answered, "I was taking a walk."

"You walk late," she announced, gravely.

"No later than yourself," said I.

"I," she responded with the same gravity, "I live here." She indicated the cart.

"Do you stay long?" I asked.

"No," she replied, "we circulate."

It seemed a proud and mouth-filling word to me. I would gladly have gone forth in a similar house and circulated in like manner. The need of "circulating"—it was that that had driven me to slip out unnoticed from my family—that need of the open road, a need which has been supposed to belong to young men during the *Wanderjahren*, to gypsies and others of either a predatory or do-nothing character, but which I am convinced finds its place in odd quarters; and there is many a dweller under respectable and uninteresting roofs in whose ears the road which passes the house sings as seductive a song as ever did the sea to those who like to go down to it in ships.

"It must be nice," I said, and I am sure that the girl caught the wistfulness in my tone, for her gravity brightened into a smile.

"It's always new," she agreed, "and yet one is always at home." There, if you like, was an open door for one—new scenes, new horizons, new adventure, and yet the humble and familiar things, the familiar and beloved faces, that make what we call "home." Wherever one goes one makes friends on the way; there is always some one glad to see you in a town when you come through again. This also was news. I had thought of my little acquaintance as belonging to the band of those disliked by the respectable, at whose heels dogs barked, and in whose faces doors were slammed.

"We are tinsmiths; when we finish we go forward," she informed me.

The next day I saw what she meant by making friends, for I came upon her and her father in the garden of a friend of mine, a comfortable *bonne à toute faire*, who was saying to the tinsmith:

"Well, Monsieur Janos, what luck this year?"

He was a little man, browned by the sun, and with that pleasant and tranquil expression of face of one who lives with Pleasure in the open air.

"*Pas mal, pas mal*," he answered. He was blowing up a hot little charcoal fire which he carried with him, and was heating solder while she brought to him the pots and pans to be mended, and gossiped the while about his family. To hear him talk one would think it the most natural thing in the world to have one's house a cart on wheels, and something that would not interfere with the orderliness of one's life.

"How is Ma'am Janos's health?" she wanted to know. "And so Hélène had made her first communion? That was good."

He brought her news also of a relative some villages away, who, it seemed, was in good health; the children, however, had the whooping-cough. The talk was too tame to interest me, and I was at the time too young to grasp its significance. I was rather disappointed that my friend of the night before should be respectable enough to find favor in the eyes of my good Madame ——, that she had turned out to be no gypsy at all, as my fancy had painted her, but a sturdy, blonde-haired, blue-eyed daughter of Normandy.

After this I noticed that the *carrefour* by the cross was seldom empty. Now there would put up for the night a handsome wagon with curtained windows and bright with paint, and drawn by well-fed horses, to be replaced by a poor shanty on wheels and a decrepit donkey. Often they put up for the night only, and went on their way on the broad white road bound for the market of Dieppe. There was as great a diversity of trades represented by these travelers as by the people of the town, and they seemed to enjoy as many degrees of prosperity.

Some years later, in the market of Sansavant in Brittany, I learned more of the cart dwellers. Three times a week the market-place blossoms with mushroom-like umbrellas and is transformed from a place cleanly and well kept to the point of bareness into an open-air department store. It was the cart people who added variety to the changing scene. There were two middle-aged, full-bosomed women, with hair smartly dressed, who

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sold *fonds de boutique* from Paris—venders of cheap jewelry. Other stores on wheels there were—rolling shops that contained nothing but ribbons and laces—a vast and changing caravan, making their way from town to town and from market-place to market-place, always at home and always seeing something new. The children, neat and pinafored, played about the steps and were not to be distinguished from the children who lived in mere houses.

I thought of them as a race apart, a species of French gypsy—gypsies shorn of their charm and their rascality and having fallen to shopkeeping, retaining nothing of their former picturesque vices, unless an uneasy desire to be up and gone as soon as one reaches a place may be termed a vice. They disappointed me. Not one of them that I ever saw was a horse-trader. They would have been as incapable of reading your palm, however crossed with silver, as any fishwife from Cancale. I didn't understand them at all. What was the use of gypsying, I wanted to know, if one was to be so tame and respectable about it?

Thus does youth desire to find romance of the obvious sort. Picturesqueness must have its romance as per schedule. Haunted castles, moonlight on the lake, gypsies with flashing black eyes, wheedling tongues, and pilfering ways, are what it asks for.

It was not until years afterwards, in St.-Raphael, in the Department of Var, that I understood the humble romance of the cart dwellers. For as I returned to France I came across them again, as was inevitable, since they form a part of French life. They have to have a license to permit them to circulate, and tucked away somewhere the orderly nation of France must have records of how many of these homes on wheels travel through its Departments from the north to the south, and I think their numbers must stretch into many figures.

It was on the beach of St.-Raphael, the blue Mediterranean in front, the Hôtels Esterelles behind, that I found my cart dwellers again. As I looked out of my hotel window I saw a line of them drawn up between the soft sand beach and the hard earth of a plane-tree-bordered square. A man dressed in a white apron and the white cap of a pastry-cook was frying a waffle-like cake. A woman seated on the steps of the cart tended her baby, and beneath the cart a little boy was playing with the dog. A line of half a dozen other carts was drawn up at intervals. One sold pins and needles and those small articles which we call "findings." The dwellers in another cart sang songs and sold them for a penny, and had a ring-toss game. Still another had a bird shop. One might buy a bird or one might raffle for it. Flimsy ways all, they seemed, of making a livelihood—more in place elsewhere than on this beach where men were pottering about their substantial, broad-beamed boats, mending nets, and carrying on the other occupations of a Mediterranean beach.

I made the acquaintance of the waffle-man with the purchase of a few cakes. He was a simple-minded soul, with a kindly, rather blank face, and saved the waffles that turned out less successfully for children who looked on him forlornly and with wistful eye; and as he felt that this mode of procedure was not one that would foster the waffle trade, he exclaimed, apologetically:

"You see, they make me think of my eldest. Before he was taken sick and died, he stood one day and looked at a man baking cakes like that."

"You haven't always made cakes?" I asked.

"No, I am not a pastry-cook. I am a wheelwright. My little boy died. We had no other children then; we had waited for him three years, and he died. He was four years old, and when he was dead the place was so empty—you wouldn't believe how empty unless you had lost your only son. We would sit there silent, *le cœur gros;* in my shop it was the same; he liked to watch me at work, and we couldn't bear it, so one day I said to her,

"'*Partons!*'

"We didn't wish to see the house where he died ever again. I sold my business and bought this cart. I remembered the man with the cakes, and I thought, 'That can't be hard to learn.'. I paid to be taught. So on the road we found peace again. These two were born in the cart."

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So by means of this cart these sorrowing parents had been able to have that luxury of the very rich—travel and change—that they might forget, and find, as he said, peace of heart.

The bird man was a large, jovial fellow, a philosopher in his way, and had much to say in praise of the cart.

"Competition," he told me, "that's the curse of our modern life. For years I kept a bird shop in a town. Now, one bird shop in a town of that size is enough—surely one is enough, and while the love of birds is widespread, yet I who keep them must admit that a bird is a luxury. A town must be rich and wealthy. There came, Madame, to my town another bird man. He was richer than I; he had an expensive parrot which talked. He was new also. He chose a shop near mine. I considered it a lack of delicacy. He advertised. I wasn't one to thrust my birds down the throats of those who don't want them. If you persuade one to buy a bird who has not felt that need within him, how can you know that bird will be cared for? Indeed, Madame, you must know that it will not be, and very likely will perish miserably.

"With his talking cockatoo, with his advertising, he took my custom from me. I could have found other employment, but then I must give up my birds. I hesitated long. I dislike the *ennui* of travel, but if I remained where I was I must give up my birds. They were my life; I studied their characters; they are different, all of them, like human beings. Now with my cart I am a free man. If competition comes, I can now run from it; and do you know, Madame, I find a pleasure in the society of those who, like myself, live in a cart. Though I am not a man who cares to travel, it seems odd to you, perhaps it may be my imagination, but it has appeared to me that my *confrères* who live on wheels are a little different from those who live always in houses. You wouldn't think it, perhaps, but it takes imagination to live in a cart, just as it takes imagination to see your way out of a difficulty. The dull man lets difficulty seize upon him as deep mud to the ankles keeps a lame man from walking. A man with imagination sees his way out. Had I had no imagination I would now be sitting on a high stool keeping the books in a store. As it is, I live in the open air with my beloved birds.

"It is the same with my friends here. They are commonplace people. I saw you talking to the waffle-man; perhaps you have heard their story; he tells it to everybody. *Ça serre le cœur;* but since he had imagination he could fly from his grief. Who knows without that the little wife might have died. That would have been a great pity, for then there would have been no two little ones to help me feed my birds of a morning. *C'est gentils—les enfants.* They learn to talk of birds before they talk of people. The little song of the smallest, when she awakes, is like a whole nestful of birds; and when she is angry, I tell you, with my hand on my heart, I could take her scream of rage for that of a cockatoo.

"Perhaps Madame has noticed the *baraque* below where they sell pins and needles. There is a man who has imagination. The wife got a sickness of the chest, and they told her to go south; but how is a poor man to go south? I ask you. Doctors are not practical. They say, 'Yes, I can save you, but you must do this and that;' but, save for the idea of the cart, he might as well have ordered her to drink pearls dissolved. Here she gets well, and in a season or two who knows but she might return to her own *pays?* She is homesick, *la pauvre petite.*

"Then, perhaps, you may have a shop in a *ville d'eau* where the season is short. To make it longer you put your shop on wheels and sell what is left from market to market. That is why, Madame, most of the shops on wheels exist. The greater number of the cart people have their own homes in which they live for one part of the year; their good season at home over, behold them on the road! You fill out your papers; you get permission to circulate through such and such territories, and the thing is done.

"There are different natures in this world, as I know, for I have observed birds, and observing birds teaches one considerable about men and women. There are certain natures that require change if they are to keep sweet-tempered. I may not like change and travel, but I do not quarrel with those

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who do, for they are as God made them. I knew an old woman who must shortly have died—died, Madame, of *ennui*, nothing else—if she hadn't gone forth in her cart each year and seen the world. As the day grew short in winter, so did she go down hill. She would become very frail. You could clasp her with your two hands; and at the end of the season she would go back looking as though she had drunk at the fountain of youth. Travel rested her; old as she was, travel rested her." He paused in naïve wonder at this fact, and then continued:

"And so I say that the people who live in carts are all a little different from those who live always in houses, as to live in a cart one must have imagination."

That was it; I understood now the humble romance of the cart dwellers, the meaning of which had escaped me when I was a girl. To live in a cart one must have imagination. To so many weary people it was the open door. One left behind one the small disputes of neighbors, the small cares of the village, the tedium of a dull business season, and went forth in one's little rolling home to the open road. And this was happening all over France. Thousands of little carts were crawling on their way—filled with people who had imagination—from the frontier of Belgium to the Mediterranean, and from the Pyrenees to the Alps—through the length and breadth of the country; and these people who possessed imagination were tasting the joys of wayside camping and earning their own living respectably at the same time—enjoying the respect and confidence of the people of the towns they passed through, and making friends on the way, sharpening their wits, escaping sorrow like my friend the waffle-man, escaping from competition and again from death itself. A happy land, I thought, where such priceless gifts may be had. I thought of the people at home—those who needed change now and then, as my friend said, to keep them sweet and contented, those who needed the rest of travel, those who needed to escape from heavier burdens—and wished that on our commons green carts might draw up in the early morning to camp for the day.

MADAME BRESHKOVSKY IN PRISON

BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

WHEN Madame Breshkovsky was arrested for teaching the peasants on her estates, many years ago, she was kept two years in solitary confinement before trial, then sent to Siberia, where she was held in exile twenty-one years. At the time of her arrest she was torn from her two-year-old baby that she loved with a mother's devotion, and she saw him next only when, returning from exile, she found him a young man of twenty-five, living the easy life of the successful novelist, having no sympathy with any sort of reform. They met but once, then parted, as she thought, forever. She said she could not seek him out without endangering his life, lest he, too, might be considered a revolutionist.

Madame Breshkovsky was betrayed by the traitor Azeff in August, 1908, and thrown into the fortress of Sts. Peter and Paul, and has been lying there ever since without any trial, though it is rumored that her trial will take place early in March. The effort to have her released on bail till she should be tried was of no avail; Russia feared her too much. The petition which I was allowed to place in the hands of Mr. Stolypin asking for this favor was pigeonholed, and my entreaty to at least see her for a few minutes was refused. I was able, however, to send her, by ways considered quite safe, the sum of thirty rubles, twelve of which reached her, the rest sticking to the "safe" hands by the way. Of course I was not allowed to

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send any letter to her, and she does not know that I twice visited Russia solely on her account.

The last night that I was in St. Petersburg there came unexpectedly into my hands for an hour five letters which she had been permitted to send to her son, who had been persuaded to visit his mother in prison, as he was the only relative in St. Petersburg, and only relatives have that privilege. There was present at the time one who understood both Russian and English, and in hot haste these letters were translated *vive voce*. I took the translation in shorthand, hoping the time might come when I could use them in behalf of the dear, brave woman who still sits in the fortress biding her time with heroic courage and cheer. An officer who has seen her lately for the first time says of her that he has no doubt she is to-day the greatest woman in Russia. It is easy to convince those who know her that that is true.

In reading these letters one must remember that every word she writes is read by the police before it leaves the prison. She is allowed to write on no sort of personal affairs save her health; to ask no questions, to discuss no politics, to make no reference to the Government, to refer to no recent publications, etc. Indeed, the list of impossibilities is so long that it is a marvel how she can find anything to speak about. Who of us, under such limitations, could find it in his heart to rejoice over one single blade of grass and a little patch of sky? To quote her own words, "trifles make people joyful or they make them sad."

After the first interview:

January 22, 1909.

My Dear N.: I was very much pleased to see you, and I thank you for coming. I wish that I could always see you looking so well. That is the normal way for every one to look. I appreciate the need of unity between soul and body when one has singleness of purpose, and I know very well what a tremendously deep break is made in one's life even by a single crisis. It may alter a man's life completely. Preserve yourself, then, from every base and unwholesome thing. Let pure motives only enter into all your actions. Good motives beautify the human being and convey to the face a beautiful expression. I wish you success, my dear child, in everything that leads to your perfection. Kiss the others for me, and tell them my joy in seeing you.

I imagine myself sitting with you in your room while you are relating to me what you have seen, what you have heard, what you have in your mind to do. At first I listen to you patiently, and then I begin to argue. Do you know something? I never could read or listen to descriptions of anything adverse to my soul, especially the horrid things which base people do to each other, even if the horrid things do not have fatal results. I have been reading Dickens for the first time, and I am obliged to miss whole pages of his writings. I cannot read them. While reading I often say to myself, "Oh, this happened a thousand years ago, and now there is nothing of the kind," but I do not deceive myself, for still I cannot read the descriptions of horrors. I am afraid that in the books which you write I shall have to skip some pages too, but I cannot help it. I will try to understand the plot without reading the horrors.

Do you know what perfectly delighted me? "Ivanhoe." That is a novel of novels! If all historical novels were written in that way, they would be marvels. Still, I missed nearly four chapters of that, concerning the violence in the land. But it is a wonderful book. I am sure it is translated into Russian, but it is not a good translation. I think it would pay very well to publish a good translation, with illustrations. It is capital reading for youth and delightful for grown-ups. Just imagine, I was always afraid of Walter Scott, because your grandmother inspired me with mistrust of him, but now I find that "Ivanhoe" is charming.

Well, I wish you good health, my dear. Protect yourself from influenza, which attacked me as the autumn fell. I embrace you and bless you.

March 2, 1909.

My Dear N.: Soon it will be two months since I saw you, and still I have no books from you. Probably the time will soon come for your going away and we shall not see each other any more. March and April are the worst months here, and it is always worth while to run away for

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those months. I constantly recall our interview, and always regret that I could not see you clearly, but I remember every word of our conversation. What you said of the Lake of Geneva often comes to my memory, that its beauty has been worn out by many commonplace pictures. But only think, my dear child, how everything that is beautiful in nature is "tainted" in that way. Shall we blame the sky, the stars, the sea, the mountains, because they have been sung by so many poets and drawn by so many pencils, for so many ages? Shall we cease to love them for that? Shall we think that it is not becoming for us to look at the Milo goddess with admiration simply because there are so many photographs of her on every corner of the street? No, my friend, this is a prejudice which we are accustomed to accept without verification, and it often prevents us from taking pleasure in things which deserve to be enjoyed. If it were true, there would be nothing left on the surface of the globe for a refined taste, because the crowd has looked upon all these things, on all sides and in all sorts of places. The sense of beauty lies in ourselves, and when it is strongly developed—that is, when we are capable of noticing and appreciating the very slightest feature of beauty—then everything that excites admiration in the crowd seems to us still more beautiful and more wonderful.

It is another thing to prefer one kind of beauty to another, one manifestation of it to another. For instance, however picturesque and original Spaniards are, I never should prefer them to French people, because the creative spirit of the hidalgos and the French people stands as one to a hundred in ability to create in the spheres of science and of art. And the Frenchman shares the fruits of his researches so willingly with others that his homeland attracts to itself the hearts and the affections of all other people. Believe me, my dear, Paris is so thickly populated with foreigners, not because life there is so gay, but chiefly because one can live there so freely and so usefully. Every one feels himself at home, and he has the right to everything that has been accumulated by ages of labor, of genius, of talent. As to the spirit of aggrandizement, it can be said that Frenchmen never ruined any other country in the world by depriving it of land to turn them into Catholics, whereas Messrs. Hidalgos gnawed whole tribes to the bones which happened to fall into their power, and turned whole countries which they found rich and prosperous into deserts. As to the Inquisition, they are capable of it even now. They are a picturesque people, there is no denying that, and they have now more inclination to the good, but they are too superficial. Their depth does not go farther than personal retaliation and personal vanity, in individuals as well as in the whole nation. They serve rather as a decorative than a useful part of the world. Their contribution to European civilization is the beauty of their wonderful picturesqueness.

I should like it very much if you would take Madame N. to the Lake of Geneva and go with her to the small village of C., near the Castle of Chillon, with the white mountains in the distance looking into the blue water at your feet—those white mountains whose summits melt into the transparent air. Oh, that mountain air, so full of health! When I saw this picture the first time I held my breath.

Au revoir, my dear child. Come soon again. You can get permission for two or three interviews. I embrace you and kiss your hair.

April 2.

My Dear Friend: I should very much like to know how you are. When I received your letter, I was surprised at your change of hand, but from the first word I understood what had happened. Such a healthy, vigorous man to look at to be ill in bed! One thing consoled me, that there is somebody who writes for you: it means that you are not quite alone. I could not answer at once because I can write only on certain days.

It was my good fortune to get permission to have an interview with you, and I was waiting to see you arrive, but you did not appear and I lost hope. At last they said, "Come," and I went to meet you. As I was passing the clock I saw that it was quarter before twelve, and I mentally reproached you for coming so late, and I walked briskly in order to look sooner upon you. But you looked ill. There is nothing more danger-

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ous than to take cold with influenza, and I imagine you are suffering from that. My dear, you ought not to trifle with your health. It is a great blessing, and its absence spoils life. Give my thanks to the one who writes for you, and be sure that I did not forget you those fifteen days while you lay ill.

I intend in the course of the next interview to speak less and listen more. You know that I know nothing about your life. I therefore ask you to prepare beforehand a concise, and as full as possible, tale of your life, of your quarters, whether you live alone or with some one, what your surroundings are, how your time is spent, what you are writing now, what interests you very much, what are your plans. I am prepared to keep silent for the twenty minutes.

I have sent you my note-book. I wrote a petition to the commandant of the fortress, saying that I wished him to hand over the notes from "No. 55"[1] to my son, and I gave the destination. That was about a month ago. It must be in the Department of the Police. It will probably take a good while for them to look it over; but they may forget it altogether, therefore, if you wish to have it, I must trouble you to remind them of its existence.

Now I wish to tell you, as a lover of art, that it is quite worth while to see the picture gallery of Helsingfors. It is not large or elegant, but it is interesting, because the Finns have skill and their painting is original in execution as well as in subject. Folk-lore, the life of the people, and their traditions supply rich material for the artists, and their pictures rivet the attention of the observer. The hall of national painting and architecture is also quite original, outside as well as inside. The decorations of the rooms are unique. It is a country worthy of study.

If you wish to amuse me, my dear, find me a book of travels describing different countries and epochs, with illustrations. It would be better if it were a work unknown to me, but anything that has appeared within ten or fifteen years will do, so long as it is well written and has plenty of pictures, but it must be without intrigues and without cruelties.

What Englishmen are writing now? What are they giving the public? You make me laugh with the question whether I "follow the news"! My dear, I am entirely in the position of those fabulous creatures that have been stolen away and are kept living in such places that even the ravens and the wolves cannot peep in. Besides my four walls I see nothing, and hear nothing besides the ringing of church bells. You must know that my past was hedged in with all sorts of limitations, but such limitation as this I never experienced before. It is well that this happened towards my old age, when a large store of impressions and observations has been laid away in my memory. My whole past life appears before me as a tremendous school in which I pass from class to class. How many classes are still left God only knows! Life is a great teacher for all who wish to learn, and he is fortunate who gets on to the proper road to learning, otherwise one may go through life without learning anything or thinking anything. The majority live in that way, and, alas! no one helps them. But he who knows how interesting and how blessed it is *to know* is bound to teach others. Ah, my dear, I begin to preach!

I embrace you warmly. Give my greetings to all relatives and friends.

April 27.

My Dear N.: You told me that in about a fortnight you would come again. I should wait for you quite patiently if I had confidence that you are well. The weather is wretched, and I know you ought not to expose yourself. Health is a great boon, and one ought to preserve it. I confess I am uneasy about you.

I want to ask you, my dear, if you have ever read what Lessing has written about the Laocoön? Having examined the history of this work of art, Lessing has devoted a great deal of time and study to it. The article is full of artistic taste and a deep understanding of the meaning of art. Most likely it has been translated into Russian; certainly into French. I read it not so long ago, and it is deeply interesting in showing the relation between art and reality. It contains a good many sane thoughts, and every *writer* ought to

[1] "No. 55" is the same cell which was occupied by Mr. Tchaikovsky before his release on bail. It is on the upper tier and has a tiny glimpse of the sky from the window.

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read it carefully. It warns people about ascribing too much importance to the creative side of art, for, however correct it may be, it always remains an imperfect imitation of the natural beauty. The world of our conception is very meager, especially if we place human productions above the spirit which produces them.

Write me about N. I take an interest in every bit of domestic life—for instance, whom her chambermaid married, and is she content, and do they live together happily; and are they in the old house—the large one—or in the small one? etc. From the small things in life you can judge of the large ones. I think I owe my knowledge of life to that principle, or that peculiarity of my mind, that the minor things do not escape me. I notice them side by side with types of character and modes of life.

You speak of M. and P. Their life is that of the provincial town. There is much good in it when it is enlightened by the spirit of knowledge and love. The smaller children may introduce both. My dear, try to appreciate all that is good and honest in people. Do not expect perfection from them, and do not try to fit every one to one shape—even a healthful shape—so long as he is sincere. The human mind is growing and forming itself, and it is still shaking off the remnants of the old dust and dirt; and blessed are those who are already accustomed to hate that dirt in themselves and in others. It is the business of those who understand more to give their help to those who are climbing up out of the cerements of the past. You have a good heart, I know it. Answer me soon, and receive my blessing and my warm and loving kiss.

YOUR MOTHER.

April 29.

My dear Kolinka: I have seen neither you nor the book. Although I am accustomed to wait patiently, still I wish to know as soon as possible what is going on with those who interest me. Your foster father and mother probably think I do not take any interest in small every-day affairs. It is not true. I know beforehand most of the events that happen in their lives. They are trifles, but these trifles make people joyful or they may make them sad.

Tell your foster mamma that I wish she would describe to me her household and her friends. And will you ask one of your friends to buy me a crocheted shawl, soft and elastic, that I can wrap round my head, something costing about three rubles. I have still another request. I have received twelve rubles from my friend Isabel Barrows.[1] It is natural that this is very dear to me, this attention of my transatlantic friends, and I sincerely thank them for it, but I have no way to express these thanks myself. Letters addressed to any one but relatives are returned. Therefore I ask you, dear, to help me to tell Mrs. Barrows and all her family and all the friends that I heartily greet them. So sure am I of their great-heartedness that I would not have been surprised if some of them had been here! Blessed are those who cultivate in themselves a love for their neighbors, and who respect before everything the dignity of the human being.

Yesterday I *saw one blade of grass* climbing from under a stone, on the sunny side. It presented a very sad contrast with the rest of the surroundings, the bare trees and granite walls. A small patch of sky also looked upon me.

My greetings to everybody and my best wishes. I embrace you, my dear.

May 18, 1909.

My Dear: After each interview I write you, for I feel that in the course of it almost nothing has been said. The shawl was received, but it is so good that I cannot find a proper place for it, and I have finally decided to keep it in the paper package, for I cannot make up my mind to put it on. It was too elegant for me, but I thank you for it. . . . *Au revoir*, my dear. My greetings and respects to all my old friends. I remember all, absolutely all, and love them, with all their children and grandchildren. For three days now I have seen the sun as I take my exercise walk, and I warm myself in his rays. I embrace you and wish you well. Your mother.

[1] One may imagine my astonishment, as well as my joy, at hearing my own name read out from this letter. I was sorry that my modest offering had so shrunk in size, but had it been a milliard of rubles it could not have given to her the pleasure that her loving greeting will give to us, her friends on this side of the sea.

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THE NEW BOOKS

Mr. Francis L. Wellman tells his readers that a "Day in Court" is not a law book. But it is an excellent book for young lawyers to read; and by young lawyers we mean any who are not too old to learn. His suggestion that it would be well for the law instructor to take his class in a body to the court-house to witness a trial is an excellent one. In the absence of that practice, or as a preparation for it, the law student will find this book excellent reading. And the layman will find it entertaining reading. It abounds in interesting anecdotes, some of them intellectually and professionally suggestive. We do not recall in literature any more delightful illustration of absent-minded absorption in business than the story told on page 40 of Mr. Sergeant Hill, who forgot, first, that he was to be married and had to be sent for to come to the church from his chambers, and then forgot that he had been married and had to be sent for to come home to dinner. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

Mrs. Gertrude Atherton has evidently put serious work into her novel "Tower of Ivory." It has been called an international story because its scene shifts from Munich to London, and, in retrospect, to New York, while diplomatic circles, English country life, German musical enthusiasm, and the court of the mad King of Bavaria are among the things described. But the external aspects of the book, varied and interesting as they are, really only make a setting for the development of fundamental problems of temperament and passion. In the great singer who merges herself into Wagner's wonderful and heroic women there is something large and tragic of the Wagnerian type. She has by sheer force of will and instinctive love of art fought her way from a sordid and horrible past up to pre-eminence as an artist. Her personality and that of the young English diplomat whose fate becomes interwoven with her own are carefully studied and take strong hold of the imagination. No one can deny power to this book, although it may well be criticised both in regard to some repellent aspects of its theme and its literary workmanship, which is marred by grandiloquent diction and sometimes obscure and odd construction of sentences. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

Most of our readers will remember the graphic, timely, and extremely well-informed article about "Zelaya and Nicaragua" published in The Outlook at the time of Zelaya's downfall. The author was Frederick Palmer, one of the very best of American newspaper correspondents and magazine writers. His new book, "Central America and its Problems," is not only the most recent work on its subject; it is practically the only book that is of value as dealing with present-day conditions. The newspaper articles which form its basis have been revised so that the book has unity, and in liveliness of narrative and incident it is admirable. The contrast between Mexico, described in the first four chapters, and the five nations southward, is notable. In the latter Mr. Palmer found this state of affairs: "Rich territories, capable of vast development, are less widely cultivated and more sparsely populated than they were three hundred years ago, and worse governed than they ever were under Spanish captains-general. People a day's sail from the United States degenerate for want of opportunities for education and religious training, while our missionaries spread light in Darkest Africa and the interior of China. Cultured families have been decimated by political assassination and their estates confiscated. Barbarities worse than those which have excited our indignation in Russia and Turkey exist; and for these the United States is responsible." For the future the author finds hope only in a radical action by this country, founded on a policy of education and development rather than sporadic interference after an outrage on American citizens or property. He says: "Every reason which called Christian Europe to the relief of the people of the Balkan provinces calls us to the relief of Central America from men of the Zelaya stamp, whose rule makes the Weylerism which roused our indignation in 1898 mild in comparison. We cannot shift the blame on to Spain's shoulders in this instance; it is ours. For the last five years occupation has been warranted in at least two of the republics. It is the one sure cure. Can we afford to miss any opportunity of effecting it whenever, in the name of the restoration of order, we can take charge without firing a shot? Shall we hesitate to do in Central America what we have done in Cuba; to give these people a chance for a fair start, which they have never had? Shall we accept the responsibility?" (Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $2.50.)

The question discussed by Professor B. W. Bacon in "The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate" (Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, $4) is this: Is it the work of an eye-witness and disciple of Jesus, or of an unknown writer about the middle of the second century? The latter is Professor Bacon's conclusion, attributing no historical value to the work, but accepting it as the ultimate development of Christian reflection in the line of Paul's effort to know Jesus, "not after the flesh, but after the spirit." Even in that view of it, it attests the immense impression of Jesus upon the religious thought of his time. No consensus of equally competent scholars has been reached concerning its authorship, but even conservative opinion admits that the product of pious reflection is fused with historical narrative. Professor Bacon's argument that

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the work in entirety is such a product, and unhistorical throughout, is too large in compass and detail for more than a few brief comments to be admissible here. In any critical work the personal equation must be allowed for, and in this work it seems to count exorbitantly. For instance, we read of "the new rite of foot-washing, which Jesus institutes in perpetuity, as his own complement to the right of baptism." Here Dr. Bacon seems to hold that only such eccentric sects as the Dunkers have understood Jesus' meaning rightly. Again, as a clear case of the unhistorical, "Judas appears at the scene of the betrayal accompanied not by a paltry posse of slaves from the high priest's house, but by the entire Roman garrison of Jerusalem." To call out six hundred armed men to effect a night arrest in a garden seems preposterous. But the crucial word (*speira*) appears in the lexicons with a range of meanings from which Dr. Bacon arbitrarily selects the largest. Historical values seem to be quite too arbitrarily expunged. For instance: "What significance can the scene of Jesus' mother at the cross have had to an evangelist bent on 'spiritual' meanings, save to symbolize that element of his 'kindred after the flesh' which, however blindly, had yet loyally clung to him?" The story of Jesus' interview with the Samaritan woman is likewise transferred from history to symbolism, and pronounced "anachronistic and impossible," for no given reason but that "the general topic here is completely foreign to the capacity of the supposed character." One who is hesitating between the conflicting theories of authorship here suspects cocksureness. Dr. Bacon frankly acknowledges that his view of the Fourth Gospel "involves a great challenge and a great responsibility." He does not minimize its revolutionary character, but believes its destructive as compared with its constructive effects to be evanescent and relatively trifling. His faith is unshaken that Jesus in his personality is a supreme "phenomenon of the life of God in man, of the life of man in God, having permanent significance for the race." A needed corrective of Dr. Bacon's view of this Gospel is found in the deeper insight of Edward Caird's chapter on "The Divine Humanity." See his "Evolution of Religion," Vol. II, pp. 229–30.

Familiar Italy has been described over and over. Unfamiliar Italy needs describing. Not only is many a picturesque town unfamiliar; whole provinces are. Take the country of the Abruzzi, for instance. That is the subject-matter of Anne Macdonell's "In the Abruzzi" (F. A. Stokes Company, New York, $2), a capital account of the wild land and its people. Compared with Tuscany, or indeed almost any other part of Italy, the Abruzzi land seems primitive, uncouth, chilling, rough, bare. Especially is this the impression, together with the sharp contrast felt, as one enters the province from civilized, hospitable, gracious Rome. On a clear day one can see the peaks of the Abruzzi mountains from the Roman housetops. Who escapes the sensation of an elemental wildness of nature and man, persistently unconquerable even alongside the Eternal City! The strange country does not seem the less a "misfit" in Italy after reading the interesting and informative pages of the present volume. But what unexpected products have come from the province! To students of literature the chapter on its "Singers and Improvisatori," for example. In the chapter thus entitled one will find accounts of the Anglicized Abruzzesi, Gabriele Rossetti, Dante Gabriele Rossetti, and Christina Rossetti, and of the living poet of the province, Gabriele d'Annunzio. As to unfamiliar Italian towns, their name is legion. Sojourners in Naples may be glad to have their attention drawn by Mary B. Arms in her "Italian Vignettes" (M. Kennerley, New York, $1.25) to the near-by Marigliano. The book, however, has to do mostly with familiar Italy, and the author writes with well-nigh the facility of speech of the people she describes. The text is sympathetic; indeed, many a reader will be apt to say, "Just the way I felt when I was there!" But "Unfamiliar Italy" need not be a whole province like the Abruzzi, or a whole town like Marigliano; it can also be an unfamiliar part of a town, and this unfamiliar part forms not the least valuable feature of Mr. Edward Hutton's latest book, "Rome" (The Macmillan Company, New York, $2). As one reads the chapter headings, "The Capitol," "The Forum," "The Palatine Hill," "The Colosseum," etc., the sights seen by every traveler are recalled. It is well to have a review of these main attractions. But Mr. Hutton's book is more notable, so it seems to us, for its descriptions of that unfamiliar Rome indicated by the chapter headings "San Clemente," "Santa Pudentiana" (why does he not use the colloquial "Pudenziana"?), "Santi Cosma e Damiano," "Santa Maria Antiqua," "Santa Maria in Cosmedin," and "Santa Prassede." Mr. Hutton's is probably the first popular guide to Rome to give a chapter apiece to these lesser churches. Indeed, in this volume ecclesiastical Rome occupies more space than does the Rome of antiquity. This proportion does not surprise us, for all of Mr. Hutton's books on Italy are noticeable for their emphasis on the Church. Nowhere does the observer realize the Church's power and strength more than in an unfamiliar province, an unfamiliar town, or in the little old churches of the Eternal City.

The series of papers by Dr. Percy Gardner, the first of which, on "Modernity and the Churches," gives its title to the volume containing them, are all in the interest of reconstructing Christian theology in adjustment to modern learning. Speaking as an Anglican Churchman of the liberal school, he holds this to be highly needful. He tells his brethren that "perhaps there is no Church

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in Christendom which feels the dead hand more heavy than the Anglican." The need his thoughtful papers exhibit and serve is a pressing need in all churches. His standpoint is given by the ground he takes on the central question—What of Jesus? "If Jesus Christ be not in some sense divine, then we live in a universe which has nothing divine in it. . . . Unless Jesus was a man with limited knowledge, with human attributes, passions, and temptations, his life can be to us no true model, but only a mirage." Enough to add here that this candid and luminous thinker finds the chief reconstructive factors in religious thought to be historical criticism and psychology, especially in the pragmatist view of life, which emphasizes action rather than speculation. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

The object of Valerian Paget's edition of "Bradford's History of the Plymouth Settlement, 1608–1650" is thus stated by himself: "To many the reading of the mediæval English of the original, to which all preceding editions have adhered, would be so laborious as to preclude them from becoming acquainted with it. I have endeavored to preserve, as far as possible, the atmosphere of the time while accurately rendering the thought in current language." This book will find its place alongside of Edward Arber's "Story of the Pilgrim Fathers as told by Themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies." It might be compared for early New England history to Froissart's Chronicles for early European history, or to the Four Gospels for the history of the beginnings of Christianity. He who would understand the spirit of the Pilgrims as interpreted by themselves will find it in these two volumes. (The John McBride Company, New York. $1.50.)

Of more than common merit in sermonic literature is the volume "Soul and Body," containing ten discourses by Dr. Frank Oliver Hall, minister of the Church of the Divine Paternity in New York. God in nature, God in man, and the interaction of the natural and the spiritual for the development of normal humanity in that sonship to God of which Jesus is the pattern, are presented as the structural ideas of rational religion. Ample illustration, ethical earnestness, and common sense characterize the whole. One who begins to read it is likely to read it through. (Universalist Publishing House, Boston. $1.)

We do not remember to have seen before this Pierre Loti's "Egypt" ("La Mort de Philæ" is the French title) in English dress. It has been translated by Mr. W. P. Baines, and has the attraction of eight color plates by Mr. A. Lamplough. The charm of style and literary color effect have been rather remarkably preserved in the English version. (Duffield & Co., New York. $2.50.)

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

A NOTE FROM DR. SIDIS

There has been recently so much annoying newspaper notoriety about my boy, William James Sidis, and my system of education that I am forced to make a public statement in the interest of the much-offended truth. The articles in the papers, especially the popular "instructive," "scientific" articles of the Sunday magazine variety, are highly misleading. In fact, some newspapers of the sensational type did not hesitate to invent interviews, write up articles with my name tacked on to them, and compose mathematical lectures supposed to have been delivered by William James Sidis. I wish to state that I have not given any interviews to any of the papers, nor have I written a line for them, nor do I intend to give interviews, nor have I as yet published anything on the subject of education. BORIS SIDIS, M.D.

Brookline, Massachusetts.

ANIMAL FOODS AND THE COST OF LIVING

[Mr. Herbert D. Miles is singularly well fitted to speak on the subject of "Animal Foods and the Cost of Living." For twenty-three years he has been connected with the executive control of a great provision company, and has had intimate experience in dealing at first hand with the question of the variation of prices.—THE EDITORS.]

The experience of no man and the scope of no single article can cover the actual and basic causes for the present era of high prices in foodstuffs, wearing apparel, etc., to an extent that will leave absolutely no room for individual contradictions. But let us consider a chain of uncontradicted facts that have nothing to do with politics, the tariff, or gold production. This analysis is based upon an experience, not academic, but practical, in connection with the administration of one of the largest meat-packing and grain businesses in the world. The fact that this business extends largely into the products of wool and leather, as well as numerous less important by-products, is illustration enough, and confirmation enough, surely, as to the widespread influence upon other trades of the great merchants engaged in marketing what are the main products of the soil. If we agree, then, that such great conservers and distributors constitute the heart of the commercial body, and that the products that they handle constitute the

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active properties of its blood, let us go a step further and inquire what has happened to cause a sluggish circulation in the face of a good average supply of blood. It is fair to say that high prices of steel, coal, and other great commodities not directly allied with the farm are contributory rather than fundamental as affecting the present situation. But first we must allow that there is, to an alarming extent, a genuine and general scarcity of porcine products at present, caused through the farmer having been able to market his corn to better advantage in the past year or two as a grain than by condensing it, through feeding, to that other marketable product known as the hog. And it will be borne in mind also that the large cattle ranges are rapidly being cut up into small farms. The tendency of the farmers in the new districts who take up such land is at first to raise but few cattle for market. Meanwhile the urban population is growing.

There is a great business as to which the public in general has perhaps rather hazy conceptions—"cold storage." The men at the fountain-head of the great storage and meat-packing corporations would not be disingenuous enough to affirm that they did not originally start immense cold storage plants for meats, butter, eggs, and poultry with a view to making a tempting return—perhaps only fair in view of the risks incurred as to future supplies—through this extension of their activities. By cold storage plants is meant, not facilities for ordinary refrigeration of perishable products, but what are known as "freezers," or plants where the temperature is kept at anywhere from twenty above zero down to below zero registers all the year round. In these freezers meats become as hard as cord-wood and risk of deterioration is practically eliminated. The administrators of the large companies engaged in removing from the market all surplus of eggs, beef cuts, pork cuts, butter, and poultry as such surpluses arise have not, in a general way, made more than a reasonable percentage of profit on their investment. But here is the "milk in the cocoanut." They have innocently been engaged for the past ten years, with few interruptions, in steadily bidding up upon themselves the products entering into their freezers, the net result of which was wholly for the benefit of the producer, who is, of course, the farmer. When we read, therefore, that there is any mystery "as to where all the money has gone," we find the situation unnecessarily beclouded. The money has gone straight into the farmer's pocket. A good concrete illustration of this may be found in the history of the mail order business known as Sears, Roebuck & Co., of Chicago, which distributes merchandise to farmers almost exclusively. This concern commenced business about ten years ago in an extremely small way. In 1906 the present company was incorporated with an issue of ten million dollars preferred stock and thirty million dollars of common. Part of this enormous issue of common stock was given as a bonus to subscribers for the preferred. The balance went to the promoters, or owners. This thirty million dollars of common stock is now selling at over one hundred and fifty dollars per share and paying seven per cent present annual dividend rate, with a pretty well assured promise of greater things to come. It goes without saying that only the unexampled amounts of money in the hands of the farming community has made such a condition possible.

Now let us consider the main relation of the meat packers themselves to the conditions we are discussing. The administrators of such a business as that of the National Packing Company (which is a heterogeneous combination of beef and pork packing houses of the secondary grades situated at different strategic points throughout the country) would hardly contend that their principals, who own that corporation, and who are large packers themselves, were actuated in its formation by any other motive than that of adding to their net income by the removal of highly injurious competition. But in the same way the net result has been to fill the pockets of the farmer. The owners have steadily bid up upon themselves the price of live stock, with each small advance of price in commodities made with a view to a reasonable net return upon their investment.

Briefly, the way it works out in both cases is this: In the case of the buyer of product for the putting away of the surplus stock in freezers, he finds each year that, judging from the experiences of the year before (taking average normal conditions), he can afford to pay a little more, and still make a fair profit on his investment. He would be glad to pay less, but there are plenty of others willing to take this surplus and put their capital into freezing plants. The result is that year after year these buyers bid up the price upon themselves at the times when the producer has his greatest surplus of eggs, butter, poultry, pork, etc.; and so the farmer knows no more glutted markets nor low prices.

In the case of the buying of live stock, the fact has been quickly appreciated by hundreds of smaller pork and beef packers that the establishment of the National Packing Company, and other causes, have made it possible for them to hold out for, and secure, a higher price for their meats each year. The inevitable result of this is that when this large aggregate buying power goes daily into the great live-stock markets to bid for their stock, the buyers figure that they can afford to pay accordingly; and so year after year the margin of profit to them remains about the same; and, similarly, the great meat packers' profits vary but little, but the amount of money going into the pockets of the farmer for his live stock is greatly, and to him most gratifyingly, multiplied.

The hides of these cows and steers make our shoes and line our automobiles; the

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wool of the sheep makes, or largely enters into, our clothing; the manufacturer of these products has to pay a price for this raw material corresponding in general to the advance in meats; the manufacturer of other products, whatever they may be, and each seller of labor, have to get an increased price for their merchandise in order to make both ends meet. Is it not easy, then, to understand why there is spread broadcast an "era of high prices"?

As to the remedy. To the extent that high prices are caused by short production of live stock, the remedy is probably already silently under way, in the fact that the inducement now exists to the farmer to increase his production, so far as hogs are concerned, to a maximum. It is a matter of history that when this inducement exists, the result immediately following is an amount of production which is sufficient to bring prices down. And as new farms, made from the former great cattle ranges, shall become more scientifically and more carefully managed, and the older farms shall be made to raise larger crops to the acre (which can readily be accomplished in the newer sections, both North and South), there will be a tendency to give more attention to the raising of cattle.

The remedy for the tendency upon the part of the administrators of freezing plants to bid up the market upon themselves it is more difficult to prescribe or forecast, but let us hope that, as the effect has been innocently and gradually brought about, to the larger gain of the producer only, the conserver and distributor will find a way, if only by the sharp lessons of adversity, to modify the initial cost of stored produce.

Chicago, Illinois. HERBERT D. MILES.

POSTAL REFORM

Apropos of your editorial on "Post-Office Reform" in The Outlook for February 5, the late assistant postmaster in a Kansas office said to me a year ago that if the offices of postmaster, assistant postmaster, and superintendent of carriers were rolled into one, the resulting job would require but about enough work to keep one man busy. He had held the office of assistant postmaster for twelve or fifteen years, perhaps longer, and told me that he always had an agreement with the postmaster on his appointment that the latter was to do no work and have no responsibility in the office, because the work could not be successfully done with divided responsibility. If the postmaster came around at all, it was only for a friendly call. He characterized the division of duties between these three officers as brought about solely for the purpose of supplying highly paid jobs for political appointees. What was true of his office is, of course, true of all offices of similar size, and probably of those much larger. It is plain that the Post-Office deficit could be considerably reduced by dropping from the pay-roll men who are not earning their salaries.

Your contention regarding the additional income which the rural delivery system could be made to produce I know to be true. Express companies are not alone to blame, although they must bear their share, for failure to establish the parcels post. Local merchants in country towns have opposed the proposition through fear of competition of mail-order houses, and this opposition has had great weight with Congressmen from country districts, since it is an organized opposition—another case of our legislation being decided by special interest.

W. H. S.

[It is true that not only the express companies but many merchants in towns, villages, and small cities are opposed to a parcels post from fear of the competition by mail of the great department stores. We think this is a mistaken fear; an increase of supply creates an increase of demand; the development of the habit of shopping by mail will develop the habit of shopping by personal call; the introduction of railways in England by Stephenson, bitterly opposed by dealers in and owners of horses in the fear that their business would be destroyed, greatly increased the business of horse-owners. A parcels post, in our judgment, would feed the business of local merchants by increasing the buying class. Moreover, the country merchant may himself use the parcels post advantageously.—THE EDITORS.]

NOT A RIGHT COMPARISON

You report as the most stirring address at a recent philanthropic meeting one by the pastor of a church in New York City, who gave as one of the three chief reasons to justify his denunciation of what he terms the lack of interest of some churches in philanthropic matters their interest in Foreign Missions. One is surprised that any intelligent Christian should continue to use this utterly threadbare and untrue argument. The immediate experience of that particular minister ought to convince him, as it long since has the public, that those churches and denominations which are doing the most for Home Missions, not in talk only, but in their consecration of their men and women and money to the service of their fellow-men at home in every line of need, are those who at the same time are giving most largely in all three directions to Foreign Missions. The denominations, and there are such, which have not a single foreign missionary are doing next to nothing in direct home missionary work, and their contributions as churches in men or money to the active service of their fellows at home are so small as to be really a negligible quantity, except possibly in talk. Surely there is work enough for all in both directions, and need enough for united and generous support, without resorting to such comparisons. When such remarks are made in

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public, however, they must be challenged, because so many unthinking people are influenced by them. HENRY A. STIMSON.

New York City.

PRISON LABOR

It is with great regret that we note that Mr. Stowe, in the article "Prisons and Progress," countenances the calumny that the labor unions enforce idleness in prisons. The attitude of organized labor is stated by Mr. Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, as follows: "What we object to in prison labor is the State letting it out to private contractors—that is, selling the prisoners to contractors at so much per head per day or at so much per dozen turned out—and then the products of this convict labor being sold in the open market, not only in competition with free labor, but also in competition with the business men who employ free labor and who cannot hope to get a fair market price for their merchandise when they have to meet the prison contractor's price based upon the ridiculously low price per day or per dozen paid for convict labor under the prison contracts. The objection to the contract convict labor system is in the interest of the State, of labor, of the business man, of the convicts themselves, and of common humanity. Misery, brutality, demoralization, cupidity, and graft characterize the contract system." The convict must work, but why should he work for anybody but the State and himself?

THE NATIONAL FREE LABOR ASSOCIATION,
By WILLIAM PHILLIP, Sec'y.

832 Broadway, New York City.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe, the author of the article referred to, writes us: "I agree absolutely with Mr. Gompers's statement regarding prison labor as quoted by Mr. Phillip. The statements and comments in my article 'Prisons and Progress' apply exclusively to the law in Pennsylvania, which provides that only thirty-five per cent of the population of any prison within the State may be productively employed—that is, in producing for the market. Now, it stands to reason that the remaining sixty-five per cent cannot all be continuously employed on prison duties. As I state in the article, about one-quarter of the prisoners in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania were idle at the time of my visit last fall, in spite of the fact that the new warden was carrying on extensive work of renovation in which many prisoners were employed who under ordinary conditions must have been idle. Now, I was told positively by the man who was warden at the time this law was passed that its enactment was secured at the instance of and under the pressure of the labor unions of the State. This statement was confirmed by the present warden and by various other reliable men with whom I talked. It was certainly very far from my intention or desire to imply that labor unions in general were either unjust or unreasonable in their attitude on the regulation of prison labor. In this connection I say, 'That labor unions should wish in some manner to regulate convict labor is certainly natural and probably just.' That the motives actuating the labor unions, who, as I believe, secured the passage of the Pennsylvania law, were bad I have neither stated nor implied, but that the law has been vicious in its effect I have stated and do believe."

THE TAXATION OF PRIVILEGE

Mr. Fillebrown's article on this subject seems to me to be based in part upon insufficient knowledge of facts. I cannot speak of Boston taxes from personal knowledge. But in New York City I know that the taxation is already at a much higher rate than twenty per cent of the gross ground rent. It is about thirty-three and one-third per cent, and often more. Take, for example, the Columbia College or the Clement C. Moore leaseholds: The ground rent of these is in some cases four and in some five per cent upon the value of the land, exclusive of buildings. The city tax is one and six-tenths per cent upon the value of both land and buildings. It often amounts to more than the gross ground rent.

Another fact that Mr. Fillebrown fails to appreciate is that a great deal of land in city and country owes its value mainly to the labor of the owner, past or present. New York City north of Twenty-third Street a century ago was mostly an unproductive mass of rocky ground It has been graded and improved at the expense of the owners, and not at the expense of the general public. Surely they and their successors are entitled to profit by values which they have created.

Again, he fails to appreciate the fact that practically the whole burden of taxation in New York and in most of the United States now rests upon real estate. The personal tax is insignificant. And a tax is now levied upon the unearned increment. Take, for example, a house and lot that remain intrinsically as they were thirty years ago. The growth of the city and the current of fashion or business have trebled the selling value. The tax has trebled also. The value for the use of the occupant, however, has not changed.

Mr. Fillebrown's argument is applicable to the mines, quarries, and forests that have come into individual ownership. The owners are enabled by our tariff on lumber, steel, and the rest to realize great profits. It is important, as The Outlook has often urged, that the Government should in the future lease the natural deposits that it still retains, reserving a royalty. But the tax proposed by Mr. Fillebrown makes no discrimination between land values created by nature and those created by industry and skill. It would therefore be unjust, and in many cases would amount to confiscation.

New York City. EVERETT P. WHEELER.

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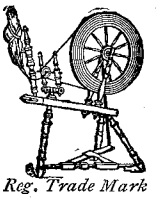

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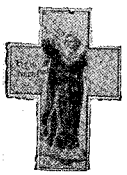

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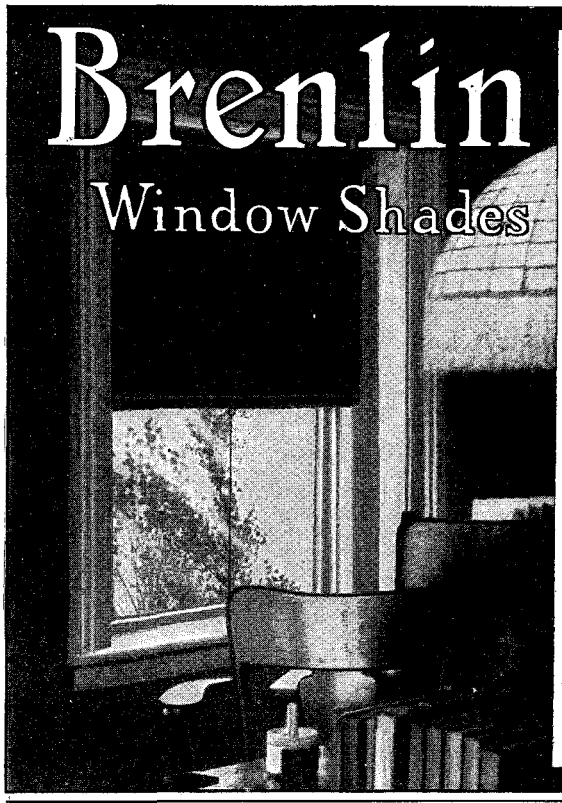

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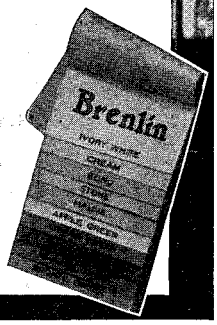

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